A true and full coppy of ỹ which was most imperfectly and Surreptitiously printed before under the name of Religio Medici: the 8 Edition Printed at London. 1682.

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RELIGIO MEDICI.

The Eighth Edition,
Corrected and Amended.

WITH
ANNOTATIONS
Never before Published,
Upon all the obscure passages therein.

ALSO
OBSERVATIONS
By Sir KENELM DIGBY,
Now newly added.

LONDON,
Printed for *R. Scot*, *T. Basset*, *J. Wright*,
R. Chiswell, 1682.

RELIGIO MEDICI

The Second Edition.

With

ANNOTATIONS

Never before Printed.

As also

OBSERVATIONS

By Sir Kenelm Digby,

Now newly added.

LONDON,

Printed for R. Scot, T. Basset, J. Wright, R. Chiswell. 1682.

A Letter sent upon the Information of Animadversions *to come forth, upon the imperfect and surreptitious Copy of* Religio Medici, *whilst this true one was going to Press.*

Honoured Sir,

GIve your Servant, who hath ever honour'd you, leave to take notice of a Book at present in the Press, intituled (as I am informed) *Animadversions* upon a Treatise lately printed under the name of *Religio Medici*; hereof, I am advertised, you have descended to be the Author. Worthy Sir, permit your Servant to affirm there is contain'd therein nothing that can deserve the

Reaſon of your Contradictions, much leſs the Candor of your *Animadverſions*: and to certifie the truth thereof, That Book (whereof I do acknowledge my ſelf the Author) was penn'd many years paſt, and (what cannot eſcape your apprehenſion) with no intention for the Preſs, or the leaſt deſire to oblige the Faith of any man to its aſſertions. But what hath more eſpecially emboldened my Pen unto you at preſent, is, That the ſame Piece, contrived in my private ſtudy and as an Exerciſe unto my ſelf, rather than an Exercitation for any other, having paſt from my hand under a broken and imperfect Copy, by frequent tranſcription it ſtill run forward into corruption, and after the addition of ſome things, omiſſion

omission of others, & transpoſition of many, without my aſſent or privacy, the liberty of theſe times committed it unto the Preſs; whence it iſſued ſo diſguiſed, the Author without diſtinction could not acknowledge it. Having thus miſcarried, within a few weeks I ſhall, God willing, deliver unto the Preſs the true and intended Original (whereof in the mean time your worthy Self may command a view;) otherwiſe when ever that Copy ſhall be extant, it will moſt clearly appear how far the Text hath been miſtaken, and all Obſervations, Gloſſes, or Exercitations thereon, will in a great part impugn the Printer or Tranſcriber, rather than the Author. If after that, you ſhall eſteem it worth

your vacant hours to discourse thereon, you shall but take that liberty which I assume my self, that is, freely to abound in your sense as I have done in my own. However you shall determine, you shall sufficiently honour me in the Vouchsafe of your Refute, and I oblige the whole World in the occasion of your Pen.

Norwich.
March 3. 1642.

Your Servant.

T. B.

Worthy

Worthy Sir,

SPeedily upon the Receipt of your Letter of the third Current, I ſent to find out the Printer that Mr. Crook (who delivered me yours) told me was printing ſomething under my name, concerning your Treatiſe of Religio Medici, and to forbid him any further proceeding therein; but my Servant could not meet with him; whereupon I have left with Mr. Crook a Note to that purpoſe, entreating him to deliver it to the Printer. I verily believe there is ſome miſtake in the information given you, and that what is printing muſt be from ſome other Pen than mine; for ſuch reflections as I made upon your learn'd and ingenious diſcourſe, are ſo far from meriting the Preſs, as they can tempt no body

dy to a ſerious reading of them; they were Notes haſtily ſet down, as I ſuddenly ran over your excellent Piece, which is of ſo weighty ſubject, and ſo ſtrongly penned, as requireth much time, and ſharp attention but to comprehend it; whereas what I writ was the imployment but of one ſitting; and there was not twenty four hours between my receiving my Lord of Dorſet's Letter that occaſioned what I ſaid, and the finiſhing my Anſwer to him; and yet part of that time was taken up in procuring your Book, which he deſired me to read and give him an account of, for till then I was ſo unhappy as never to have heard of that worthy diſcourſe. If that Letter ever come to your view you will ſee the high value I ſet upon your great parts: and if it ſhould be thought I have been

been ſomething too bold in differing from your ſenſe, I hope I ſhall eaſily obtain pardon, when it ſhall be conſidered, That his Lordſhip aſſigned it me as an Exercitation to oppoſe in it, for entertainment, ſuch paſſages as I might judge capable thereof; wherein what liberty I took, is to be attributed to the ſecurity of a private Letter, and to my not knowing (nor my Lord's) the perſon whom it concerned.

But Sir, now that I am ſo happy as to have that knowledge, I dare aſſure you, that nothing ſhall ever iſſue from me but ſavouring of all honour, eſteem, and reverence both to your ſelf, and that worthy production of yours. If I had the vanity to give my ſelf reputation by entring the Liſts in publique with ſo eminent and learned a man as you are, yet I know right well, I am no

ways

ways able to do it; it would be a very unequal progress: I pretend not to learning; those slender notions I have, are but disjointed pieces I have by chance gleaned up here and there. To encounter such a sinewy Opposite, or make Animadversions upon so smart a Piece as yours is, requireth such a solid stock and exercise in School-learning. My superficial besprinkling will serve onely for a private Letter, or a familiar discourse with Lady-auditors. With longing I expect the coming abroad of the true Copy of that Book, whose false and stoln one hath already given me so much delight. And so assuring you I shall deem it a great good fortune to deserve your favour and friendship, I kiss your hand and rest

Winchester House, March 26. 1642.

Your most humble Servant,

Kenelm Digby.

To the Reader.

CErtainly that man were greedy of Life, who ſhould deſire to live when all the world were at an end; and he muſt needs be very impatient, who would repine at death in the ſociety of all things that ſuffer under it. Had not almoſt every man ſuffered by the Preſs or were not the tyranny thereof become univerſal, I had not wanted reaſon for complaint: but in times wherein I have lived to behold the higheſt perverſion of that excellent invention, the name of his Majeſty defamed, the Honour of Parliament depraved, the Writings of both depravedly, anticipatively, counterfeitly imprinted; complaints may ſeem ridiculous in private perſons; and men of my condition may be as incapable of affronts, as hopeleſs of their reparations. And truely had

had not the duty I owe unto the importunity of friends, and the allegiance I must ever acknowledge unto truth, prevailed with me; the inactivity of my disposition might have made these sufferings continual, and time that brings other things to light, should have satisfied me in the remedy of its oblivion. But because things evidently false are not onely printed, but many things of truth most fallly set forth, in this latter I could not but think my self engaged. For though we have no power to redress the former, yet in the other, reparation being within our selves, I have at present represented unto the world a full and intended Copy of that Piece, which was most imperfectly and surreptitiously published before.

This I confess, about seven years past, with some others of affinity thereto, for my private exercise and satisfaction, I had at leisurable hours composed; which being communicated unto one, it became common unto many, and was by Transcription successively corrupted, untill it arrived in a most depraued Copy at the Press. He that

shall

ſhall peruſe that Work, and ſhall take notice of ſundry particulars and perſonal expreſſions therein, will eaſily diſcern the intention was not publick: and being a private Exerciſe directed to my ſelf, what is delivered therein, was rather a memorial unto me, than an Example or Rule unto any other: and therefore if there be any ſingularity therein correſpondent unto the private conceptions of any man, it doth not advantage them: or if diſſentaneous thereunto, it no way overthrows them. It was penned in ſuch a place, and with ſuch diſadvantage, that (I proteſt) from the firſt ſetting of pen unto paper, I had not the aſſiſtance of any good Book, whereby to promote my invention, or relieve my memory; and therefore there might be many real lapſes therein, which others might take notice of, and more that I ſuſpected my ſelf. It was ſet down many years paſt, and was the ſenſe of my conception at that time, not an immutable Law unto my advancing judgement at all times; and therefore there might be many things therein plauſible

plausible unto my passed apprehension, which are not agreeable unto my present self. There are many things delivered Rhetorically, many expressions therein meerly Tropical, and as they best illustrate my intention; and therefore also there are many things to be taken in a soft and flexible sense, and not to be called unto the rigid test of Reason. Lastly, all that is contained therein, is in submission unto maturer discernments; and as I have declared, shall no further father them than the best and learned judgments shall authorize them: under favour of which considerations I have made its secrecy publick, and committed the truth there to every Ingenuous Reader.

Tho. Browne.

RELI-

RELIGIO MEDICI.

FOr my Religion, though there be several Circumstances that might perswade the World I have none at all, as the general scandal of my Profession, the natural course of my Studies; the indifferency of my Behaviour and Discourse in matters of Religion, neither violently Defending one, nor with that common ardour and contention Opposing another; yet in despight hereof, I dare, without usurpation, assume the honourable Stile of a Christian. Not that I meerly owe this Title to the Font, my Education, or Clime wherein I was born, as being bred up either to confirm those Principles my Parents instilled into my Understanding, or by a general consent pro- *Sect.* 1.

ceed in the Religion of my Country: But having in my riper years and confirmed Judgment, ſeen and examined all, I find my ſelf obliged by the Principles of Grace, and the Law of mine own Reaſon, to embrace no other Name but this: Neither doth herein my zeal ſo far make me forget the general Charity I owe unto Humanity, as rather to hate than pity *Turks*, *Infidels*, and (what is worſe) *Jews*; rather contenting my ſelf to enjoy that happy Stile, than maligning thoſe who refuſe ſo glorious a Title.

Sect. 2. But becauſe the Name of a Chriſtian is become too general to expreſs our Faith, there being a Geography of Religion as well as Lands, and every Clime diſtinguiſhed not only by their Laws and Limits, but circumſcribed by their Doctrines and Rules of Faith; to be particular, I am of that Reformed new-caſt Religion, wherein I diſlike nothing but the Name; of the ſame belief our Saviour taught, the Apoſtles diſſeminated, the Fathers authori-

thorized, and the Martyrs confirmed, but by the ſiniſter ends of Princes, the ambition and avarice of Prelates, and the fatal corruption of times, ſo decayed, impaired, and fallen from its native Beauty, that it required the careful and charitable hands of theſe times to reſtore it to its primitive Integrity. Now the accidental occaſion whereupon, the ſlender means whereby the low and abject condition of the Perſon by whom ſo good a work was ſet on foot, which in our Adverſaries beget contempt and ſcorn, fills me with wonder, and is the very ſame Objection the inſolent Pagans firſt caſt at Chriſt and his Diſciples.

Yet have I not ſo ſhaken hands with thoſe deſperate Reſolutions, who had rather venture at large their decayed bottom, than bring her in to be new trimm'd in the Dock; who had rather promiſcuouſly retain all, than abridge any, and obſtinately be what they are, than what they have been, as to *Sect.* 3.

ſtand in Diameter and Swords point with them: We have reformed from them, not againſt them; for omitting thoſe Improperations, and Terms of Scurrility betwixt us, which only difference our Affections, and not our Cauſe, there is between us one common Name and Appellation, one Faith and neceſſary body of Principles common to us both; and therefore I am not ſcrupulous to converſe and live with them, to enter their Churches in defect of ours, and either pray with them, or for them: I could never perceive any rational Conſequence from thoſe many Texts which prohibit the Children of *Iſrael* to pollute themſelves with the Temples of the Heathens; we being all Chriſtians, and not divided by ſuch deteſted impieties as might prophane our Prayers, or the place wherein we make them; or that a reſolved Conſcience may not adore her Creator any where, eſpecially in places devoted to his Service; where if their Devotions offend him,

him, mine may pleaſe him; if theirs prophane it, mine may hollow it: Holy-water and Crucifix (dangerous to the common people) deceive not my judgment, nor abuſe my devotion at all: I am, I confeſs, naturally inclined to that, which miſguided Zeal terms Superſtition: my common converſation I do acknowledge auſtere, my behaviour full of rigour, ſometimes not without morosity; yet at my Devotion I love to uſe the civility of my knee, my hat, and hand, with all thoſe outward and ſenſible motions which may expreſs or promote my inviſible Devotion. I ſhould violate my own arm rather than a Church, nor willingly deface the name of Saint or Martyr. At the ſight of a Croſs or Crucifix I can diſpenſe with my hat, but ſcarce with the thought or memory of my Saviour: I cannot laugh at, but rather pity the fruitleſs journeys of Pilgrims, or contemn the miſerable condition of Fryars; for though miſplaced in Circumſtances, there is ſomething

in it of Devotion. I could never hear the * *Ave-Mary* Bell without an elevation, or think it a sufficient warrant, because they erred in one circumstance, for me to err in all, that is, in silence and dumb contempt; whilst therefore they direct their Devotions to Her, I offered mine to God, and rectifie the Errors of their Prayers, by rightly ordering mine own: At a solemn Procession I have wept abundantly, while my consorts blind with opposition and prejudice; have fallen into an excess of scorn and laughter: There are questionless both in *Greek*, *Roman*, and *African* Churches, Solemnities and Ceremonies, whereof the wiser Zeals do make a Christian use, and stand condemned by us, not as evil in themselves, but as allurements and baits of superstition to those vulgar heads that look asquint on the face of Truth, and those unstable Judgments that cannot resist in the narrow point and centre of Virtue without a reel or stagger to the Circumference.

* *A Church Bell that tolls every day at six and twelve of the Clock; at the hearing whereof, every one in what place soever, either of House or Street, betakes himself to his prayer, which is commonly directed to the Virgin.*

As

As there were many Reformers, *Sect.* 4.
so likewise many Reformations; every Country proceeding in a particular way and method, according as their national Interest, together with their Constitution and Clime inclined them; some angrily, and with extremity; others calmly, and with mediocrity, not rending but easily dividing the community, and leaving an honest possibility of a reconciliation; which though peaceable Spirits do desire, and may conceive that revolution of time and the mercies of God may effect, yet that judgment that shall consider the present antipathies between the two extreams, their contrarieties in condition, affection and opinion, may with the same hopes expect an union in the Poles of Heaven.

But to difference my self nearer, *Sect.* 5.
and draw into a lesser Circle: There is no Church, whose every part so squares unto my Conscience; whose Articles, Constitutions, and Customs, seem so consonant unto rea-

ſon, and as it were framed to my particular Devotion, as this whereof I hold my Belief, the Church of *England*, to whoſe Faith I am a ſworn Subject; and therefore in a double Obligation ſubſcribe unto her Articles, and endeavour to obſerve her Conſtitutions; whatſoever is beyond, as points indifferent, I obſerve according to the rules of my private reaſon, or the humour and faſhion of my Devotion; neither believing this, becauſe *Luther* affirmed it, or diſproving that, becauſe *Calvin* hath diſavouched it. I condemn not all things in the Council of *Trent*, nor approve all in the Synod of *Dort*. In brief, where the Scripture is ſilent, the Church is my Text; where that ſpeaks, 'tis but my Comment: where there is a joynt ſilence of both, I borrow not the rules of my Religion from *Rome* or *Geneva*, but the dictates of my own reaſon. It is an unjuſt ſcandal of our adverſaries, and a groſs errour in our ſelves, to compute the Nativity of our Religion

ligion from *Henry* the Eighth, who though he rejected the Pope, refus'd not the faith of *Rome*, and effected no more than what his own Predeceſſors deſired and aſſayed in Ages paſt, and was conceived the State of *Venice* would have attempted in our days. It is as uncharitable a point in us to fall upon thoſe popular ſcurrilities and opprobrious ſcoffs of the Biſhop of *Rome*, to whom as temporal Prince, we owe the duty of good language: I confeſs there is a cauſe of paſſion between us; by his ſentence I ſtand excommunicated, Heretick is the beſt language he affords me; yet can no ear witneſs, I ever returned him the name of Antichriſt, Man of ſin, or Whore of *Babylon*. It is the method of Charity to ſuffer without reaction: Thoſe uſual Satyrs and invectives of the Pulpit may perchance produce a good effect on the vulgar, whoſe ears are opener to Rhetorick than Logick; yet do they in no wiſe confirm the faith of wiſer Believers, who know that

that a good cauſe needs not to be pardon'd by paſſion, but can ſuſtain it ſelf upon a temperate diſpute.

Sect. 6. I could never divide my ſelf from any man upon the difference of an opinion, or be angry with his judgment for not agreeing with me in that, from which within a few days I ſhould diſſent my ſelf. I have no Genius to diſputes in Religion, and have often thought it wiſdom to decline them, eſpecially upon a diſadvantage, or when the cauſe of truth might ſuffer in the weakneſs of my patronage: Where we deſire to be informed, 'tis good to conteſt with men above our ſelves; but to confirm and eſtabliſh our opinions, 'tis beſt to argue with judgments below our own, that the frequent ſpoils and Victories over their reaſons, may ſettle in our ſelves an eſteem and confirmed Opinion of our own. Every man is not a proper Champion for Truth, nor fit to take up the Gauntlet in the cauſe of Verity: Many from the ignorance of theſe Maximes, and

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an inconsiderate Zeal unto Truth, have too rashly charged the Troops of Error, and remain as Trophies unto the enemies of Truth: A man may be in as just possession of Truth as of a City, and yet be forced to surrender; 'tis therefore far better to enjoy her with peace, than to hazzard her on a battle: if therefore there rise any doubts in my way, I do forget them, or at least defer them, till my better setled judgement, and more manly reason be able to resolve them, for I perceive every mans own reason is his best *Oedipus*, and will upon a reasonable truce, find a way to loose those bonds wherewith the subtleties of error have enchained our more flexible and tender judgements. In Philosophy, where Truth seems double-fac'd, there is no man more Paradoxical than my self; but in Divinity I love to keep the Road; and though not in an implicite, yet an humble faith, follow the great wheel of the Church, by which I move, not reserving any

any proper Poles or motion from the Epicycle of my own brain; by this means I have no gap for Hereſie, Schiſmes, or Errors, of which at preſent I hope I ſhall not injure Truth to ſay I have no taint or tincture: I muſt confeſs my greener ſtudies have been polluted with two or three, not any begotten in the latter Centuries, but old and obſolete, ſuch as could never have been revived, but by ſuch extravagant and irregular heads as mine; for indeed Hereſies periſh not with their Authors, but like the River *Arethuſa*, though they loſe their currents in one place, they riſe up again in another: One general Council is not able to extirpate one ſingle Hereſie; it may be cancell'd for the preſent, but revolution of time, and the like aſpects from Heaven, will reſtore it, when it will flouriſh till it be condemned again. For as though there were *Metempſuchoſis*, and the ſoul of one man paſſed into another; Opinions do find after certain Revolutions, men and minds

like

like those that first begat them. To see our selves again, we need not look for b *Plato*'s year: every man is not only himself; there hath been many *Diogenes*, and as many *Timons*, though but few of that name; men are liv'd over again, the world is now as it was in Ages past; there was none then, but there hath been some one since that Parallels him, and as it were his revived self.

b *A revolution of certain thousand years, when all things should return unto their former estate, and he be teaching again in his School as when he delivered this Opinion.*

Now the first of mine was that of the *Arabians*, That the Souls of men perished with their Bodies, but should yet be raised again at the last day: not that I did absolutely conceive a mortality of the Soul; but if that were, which Faith, not Philosophy hath yet throughly disproved, and that both entred the grave together, yet I held the same conceit thereof that we all do for the body, that it rise again. Surely it is but the merits of our unworthy Natures, if we sleep in darkness until the last Alarm. A serious reflex upon my own unworthiness did

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make me backward from challenging this prerogative of my Soul; so that I might enjoy my Saviour at the last, I could with patience be nothing almost unto Eternity. The second was that of *Origen*, That God would not persist in his vengeance for ever, but after a definite time of his wrath, he would release the damned Souls from torture: which error I fell into upon a serious contemplation of the great Attribute of God, his Mercy; and did a little cherish it in my self, because I found therein no malice, and a ready weight to sway me from the other extream of despair, whereunto Melancholy and Contemplative Natures are too easily disposed. A third there is which I did never positively maintain or practise, but have often wished it had been consonant to Truth, and not offensive to my Religion, and that is the Prayer for the dead; whereunto I was inclin'd from some charitable inducements, whereby I could scarce contain my Prayers for a

friend

friend at the ringing of a Bell, or behold his Corps without an Oriſon for his Soul: 'Twas a good way methought to be remembred by poſterity, and far more noble than an Hiſtory. Theſe opinions I never maintained with pertinacy, or endeavoured to enveagle any mans belief unto mine, nor ſo much as ever revealed or diſputed them with my deareſt friends; by which means I neither propagated them in others, nor confirmed them in my ſelf; but ſuffering them to flame upon their own ſubſtance, without addition of new fuel, they went out inſenſibly of themſelves: therefore theſe Opinions, though condemned by lawful Councels, were not Hereſies in me, but bare Errors, and ſingle Lapſes of my underſtanding without a joynt depravity of my will: Thoſe have not onely depraved underſtandings, but diſeaſed affections, which cannot enjoy a ſingularity without an Hereſie, or be the Author of an Opinion without they be of a Sect alſo; this was

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the Villany of the firſt Schiſm of *Lucifer*, who was not content to err alone, but drew into his Faction many Legions, and upon this experience he tempted only *Eve*, as well underſtanding the Communicable nature of Sin, and that to deceive but one, was tacitely and upon conſequence to delude them both.

Sect. 8. That Hereſies ſhould ariſe, we have the Propheſie of Chriſt; but that old ones ſhould be aboliſhed, we hold no prediction. That there muſt be Hereſies, is true, not only in our Church, but alſo in any other: even in the doctrines heretical, there will be ſuper-hereſies; and Arians not only divided from their Church, but alſo among themſelves: for heads that are diſpoſed unto Schiſm and complexionably propenſe to innovation, are naturally diſpoſed for a community; nor will be ever confined unto the order or œconomy of one body; and therefore when they ſeparate from others, they knit but looſely among themſelves;

ſelves, nor contented with a general breach or dichotomy with their Church, do ſubdivide and mince themſelves almoſt into Atoms. 'Tis true, that men of ſingular parts and humours have not been free from ſingular opinions and conceits in all Ages; retaining ſomething not only beſide the opinion of his own Church or any other, but alſo any particular Author; which notwithſtanding a ſober Judgment may do without offence or hereſie; for there is yet, after all the Decrees of Councils, and the niceties of Schools, many things untouch'd, unimagin'd, wherein the liberty of an honeſt reaſon may play and expatiate with ſecurity, and far without the circle of an Hereſie.

As for thoſe wingy Myſteries in Divinity, and airy ſubtleties in Religion, which have unhing'd the brains of better heads, they never ſtretched the *Pia Mater* of mine; methinks there be not impoſſibilities enough in Religion, for an active faith; the deepeſt Myſteries *Sect.* 9.

ours contains, have not only been illuſtrated, but maintained by Sylogiſm, and the rule of Reaſon: I love to loſe my ſelf in a myſtery, to purſue my Reaſon to an *O altitudo*! 'Tis my ſolitary recreation to poſe my apprehenſion with thoſe involved Ænigma's and riddles of the Trinity, with Incarnation and Reſurrection. I can anſwer all the Objections of Satan and my rebellious reaſon, with that odd reſolution I learned of *Tertullian*, *Certum eſt quia impoſſible eſt*. I deſire to exerciſe my faith in the difficulteſt point; for to credit ordinary and viſible objects, is not faith, but perſwaſion. Some believe the better for ſeeing Chriſt's Sepulchre; and when they have ſeen the Red Sea, doubt not of the Miracle. Now contrarily, I bleſs my ſelf, and am thankful that I lived not in the days of Miracles, that I never ſaw Chriſt nor his Diſciples; I would not have been one of thoſe *Iſraelites* that paſs'd the Red Sea, nor one of Chriſt's patients on whom he wrought his wonders; then

then had my faith been thruſt upon me; nor ſhould I enjoy that greater bleſſing pronounced to all that believe and ſaw not. 'Tis an eaſie and neceſſary belief, to credit what our eye and ſenſe hath examined: I believe he was dead and buried, and roſe again; and deſire to ſee him in his glory, rather than to contemplate him in his Cenotaphe, or Sepulchre. Nor is this much to believe; as we have reaſon, we owe this faith unto Hiſtory: they only had the advantage of a bold and noble Faith, who lived before his coming, who upon obſcure propheſies and myſtical Types could raiſe a belief, and expect apparent impoſſibilities.

'Tis true, there is an edge in all firm belief, and with an eaſie Metaphor we may ſay the Sword of Faith; but in theſe obſcurities I rather uſe it in the adjunct the Apoſtles gives it, a Buckler; under which I conceive a wary combatant may lye invulnerable. Since I was of underſtanding to *Sect.* 10.

know we knew nothing, my reason hath been more pliable to the will of Faith; I am now content to understand a mystery without a rigid definition, in an easie and Platonick description. That *b* allegorical description of *Hermes*, pleaseth me beyond all the Metaphysical definitions of Divines; where I cannot satisfie my reason, I love to humour my fancy: I had as live you tell me that *anima est angelus hominis, est Corpus Dei*, as *Entelechia*; *Lux est umbra Dei*, as *actus perspicui*; where there is an obscurity too deep for our Reason, 'tis good to sit down with a description, periphrasis, or adumbration; for by acquainting our reason how unable it is to display the visible and obvious effects of nature, it becomes more humble and submissive unto the subtleties of Faith; and thus I teach my haggard and unreclaimed reason to stoop unto the lure of Faith. I believe there was already a tree whose fruit our unhappy Parents tasted, though in the same Chapter when

Sphæra cujus centrum ubique, circumferentia nullibi.

when God forbids it, 'tis positively said, the plants of the fields were not yet grown; for God had not caus'd it to rain upon the earth. I believe that the Serpent (if we shall literally understand it) from his proper form and figure made his motion on his belly before the curse. I find the tryal of the Pucellage and virginity of Women, which God ordained the *Jews*, is very fallible. Experience and History informs me, that not onely many particular Women, but likewise whole Nations have escaped the curse of Childbirth, which God seems to pronounce upon the whole Sex; yet do I believe that all this is true, which indeed my Reason would perswade me to be false; and this I think is no vulgar part of Faith, to believe a thing not only above, but contrary to Reason, and against the Arguments of our proper Senses.

In my solitary and retired imagination, (*Neque enim cum porticus, aut me lectulus accepit, desum mihi*) I *Sect.* 11.

remember I am not alone, and therefore forget not to contemplate him and his Attributes who is ever with me, especially those two mighty ones, his Wisdom and Eternity: with the one I recreate, with the other I confound my understanding: for who can speak of Eternity without a solœcism, or think thereof without an Extasie? Time we may comprehend: 'tis but five days elder then our selves, and hath the same Horoscope with the World; but to retire so far back as to apprehend a beginning, to give such an infinite start forwards as to conceive an end in an essence that we affirm hath neither the one nor the other, it puts my Reason to St. *Paul's* Sanctuary: my Philosophy dares not say the Angels can do it; God hath not made a Creature that can comprehend him; 'tis a priviledge of his own nature: *I am that I am*, was his own definition unto *Moses*; and 'twas a short one, to confound mortality, that durst question God, or ask him what he

was;

was; indeed he onely is; all others have and shall be: but in Eternity there is no distinction of Tenses; and therefore that terrible term *Predestination*, which hath troubled so many weak heads to conceive, and the wisest to explain, is in respect to God no prescious determination of our Estates to come, but a definitive blast of his Will already fulfilled, and at the instant that he first decreed it; for to his Eternity which is indivisible, and all together, the last Trump is already sounded, the reprobates in the flame, and the blessed in *Abraham*'s bosome. St. *Peter* speaks modestly, when he saith, a thousand years to God are but as one day: for to speak like a Philosopher, those continued instances of time which flow into a thousand years, make not to him one moment; what to us is to come, to his Eternity is present, his whole duration being but one permanent point, without Succession, Parts, Flux, or Division.

There is no Attribute that adds *Sect.* 12.

more difficulty to the myſtery of the Trinity, where, though in a relative way of Father and Son, we muſt deny a priority. I wonder how *Ariſtotle* could conceive the World eternal, or how he could make good two Eternities: his ſimilitude of a Triangle, comprehended in a ſquare, doth ſomewhat illuſtrate the Trinity of our Souls, and that the Triple Unity of God; for there is in us not three, but a Trinity of Souls, becauſe there is in us, if not three diſtinct Souls, yet differing faculties, that can, and do ſubſiſt apart in different Subjects, and yet in us are thus united as to make but one Soul and ſubſtance: if one Soul were ſo perfect as to inform three diſtinct Bodies, that were a petty Trinity: conceive, the diſtinct number of three, not divided nor ſeparated by the Intellect, but actually comprehended in its Unity, and that is a perfect Trinity. I have often admired the myſtical way of *Pythagoras*, and the ſecret Magick of numbers. Beware of

Phi-

Philoſophy, is a precept not to be received in too large a ſenſe; for in this Maſs of Nature there is a ſet of things that carry in their Front, though not in Capital Letters, yet in Stenography, and ſhort Characters, ſomething of Divinity, which to wiſer Reaſons ſerve as Luminaries in the Abyſs of Knowledge, and to judicious beliefs, as Scales and Roundles to mount the Pinacles and higheſt pieces of Divinity. The ſevere Schools ſhall never laugh me out of the Philoſophy of *Hermes*, that this viſible World is but a Picture of the inviſible, wherein as in a Pourtraict, things are not truely, but in equivocal ſhapes, and as they counterfeit ſome real ſubſtance in that inviſible Fabrick.

That other Attribute wherewith *S.A.* 13.
I recreate my devotion, is his Wiſdom, in which I am happy; and for the contemplation of this only, do not repent me that I was bred in the way of Study: The advantage I have of the vulgar, with the

con-

content and happineſs I conceive therein, is an ample recompence for all my endeavours, in what part of knowledge ſoever. Wiſdom is his moſt beauteous Attribute, no man can attain unto it, yet *Solomon* pleaſed God when he deſired it. He is wiſe, becauſe he knows all things; and he knoweth all things, becauſe he made them all: but his greateſt knowledge is in comprehending that he made not, that is, himſelf. And this is alſo the greateſt knowledge in man. For this do I honour my own profeſſion, and embrace the Counſel even of the Devil himſelf: had he read ſuch a Lecture in Paradiſe, as he did at * *Delphos*, we had better known our ſelves; nor had we ſtood in fear to know him. I know he is wiſe in all, wonderful in what we conceive, but far more in what we comprehend not; for we behold him but aſquint, upon reflex or ſhadow; our underſtanding is dimmer than *Moſes* Eye; we are ignorant of the back-parts or lower ſide of his Divinity; therefore

* Γνῶθι σεαυτὸν, *Noſce teipſum.*

fore to prie into the maze of his Counſels, is not only folly in man, but preſumption even in Angels; like us, they are his Servants, not his Senators; he holds no Counſel, but that myſtical one of the Trinity, wherein though there be three Perſons, there is but one mind that decrees without Contradiction: nor needs he any; his actions are not begot with deliberation, his Wiſdom naturally knows what's beſt; his intellect ſtands ready fraught with the Superlative and pureſt *Idea's* of goodneſs; conſultation and election, which are two motions in us, make but one in him; his action ſpringing from his power, at the firſt touch of his will. Theſe are Contemplations Metaphyſical: my humble ſpeculations have another Method, and are content to trace and diſcover thoſe expreſſions he hath left in his Creatures, and the obvious effects of Nature; there is no danger to profound theſe myſteries, no *ſanctum ſanctorum* in Philoſophy: the World was

was made to be inhabited by Beasts; but studied and contemplated by Man: 'tis the Debt of our Reason we owe unto God, and the homage we pay for not being Beasts; without this, the World is still as though it had not been, or as it was before the sixth day, when as yet there was not a Creature that could conceive, or say there was a World. The wisdom of God receives small honour from those vulgar Heads that rudely stare about, and with a gross rusticity admire his works; those highly magnifie him, whose judicious inquiry into his Acts, and deliberate research into his Creatures, return the duty of a devout and learned admiration.

Therefore,

Search while thou wilt, and let thy reason go
To ransome truth even to th' Abyss below;
Rally the scattered Causes; and that line
Which Nature twists, be able to untwine:
It is thy Makers will, for unto none,
But unto reason can he e're be known.
The Devils do know thee, but those damn'd
Meteors

Build

Build not thy Glory, but confound thy Creatures.
Teach my indeavours so thy works to read,
That learning them in thee, I may proceed.
Give thou my reason that instructive flight,
Whose weary wings may on thy hands still light.
Teach me so to soar aloft, yet ever so,
When near the Sun, to stoop again below.
Thus shall my humble Feathers safely hover,
And though neer Earth, more than the Heavens discover.
And then at last, when homeward I shall drive
Rich with the Spoils of nature to my Hive,
There will I sit like that industrious Flie,
Buzzing thy praises, which shall never die,
Till death abrupts them, and succeeding Glory
Bid me go on in a more lasting story.

And this is almost all wherein an humble Creature may endeavour to requite, and some way to retribute unto his Creator: for if not he that saith, *Lord, Lord*, but *he that doth the will of his Father, shall be saved*; certainly our wills must be our performances, and our intents make out our Actions; otherwise our pious labours shall find anxiety in our Graves, and our best endeavours

deavours not hope, but fear a resurrection.

Sect. 14. There is but our first cause, and four second causes of all things; some are without efficient, as God; others without matter, as Angels; some without form, as the first matter: but every Essence created or uncreated, hath its final cause, and some positive end both of its Essence and Operation; this is the cause I grope after in the works of Nature; on this hangs the providence of God: to raise so beauteous a structure, as the World and the Creatures thereof, was but his Art; but their sundry and divided operations, with their predestinated ends, are from the Treasure of his wisdom. In the causes, nature and affections of the Eclipses of the Sun and Moon, there is most excellent speculation; but to profound farther, and to contemplate a reason why his providence hath so disposed and ordered their motions in that vast circle, as to conjoyn and obscure each other, is a sweeter

piece

piece of Reason, and a diviner point of Philosophy; therefore sometimes, and in some things, there appears to me as much Divinity in *Galen* his Books *De usu partium*, as in *Suarez* Metaphysicks: Had *Aristotle* been as curious in the enquiry of this cause as he was of the other, he had not left behind him an imperfect piece of Philosophy, but an absolute tract of Divinity.

Natura nihil aget frustra, is the only indisputed Axiome in Philosophy; there are no *Grotesques* in nature; not any thing framed to fill up empty Cantons, and unnecessary spaces: in the most imperfect Creatures, and such as were not preserved in the Ark, but having their Seeds and Principles in the womb of Nature, are every where, where the power of the Sun is; in these is the Wisdom of his hand discovered: Out of this rank *Solomon* chose the object of admiration; indeed what reason may not go to School to the wisdom of Bees, Ants, and Spiders? what wise hand teacheth *Sect.* 15.

eth them to do what reason cannot teach us? ruder heads stand amazed at those prodigious pieces of Nature, Whales, Elephants, Dromidaries and Camels; these, I confess, are the Colossus and Majestick pieces of her hand: but in these narrow Engines there is more curious Mathematicks; and the civility of these little Citizens, more neatly sets forth the wisdom of their Maker. Who admires not *Regio Montanus* his Fly beyond his Eagle, or wonders not more at the operation of two Souls in those little Bodies, than but one in the Trunk of a Cedar? I could never content my contemplation with those general pieces of wonder, the Flux and Reflux of the Sea, the increase of *Nile*, the conversion of the Needle to the North; and have studied to match and parallel those in the more obvious and neglected pieces of Nature, which without further travel I can do in the Cosmography of my self; we carry with us the wonders we seek without us: There is

is all *Africa* and her prodigies in us; we are that bold and adventurous piece of nature, which he that ſtudies wiſely learns in a *compendium*, what others labour at in a divided piece and endleſs volume.

Thus there are two Books from whence I collect my Divinity; beſides that written one of God, another of his ſervant Nature, that univerſal and publick Manuſcript, that lies expans'd unto the Eyes of all, thoſe that never ſaw him in the one, have diſcoveerd him in the other: this was the Scripture and Theology of the Heathens; the natural motion of the Sun made them more admire him, than its ſupernatural ſtation did the Children of *Iſrael*; the ordinary effects of nature wrought more admiration in them, than in the other all his Miracles; ſurely the Heathens knew better how to joyn and read theſe myſtical Letters, than we Chriſtians, who caſt a more careleſs Eye on theſe common Hieroglyphicks, and diſdain to ſuck Di-

vinity from the flowers of Nature. Nor do I so forget God as to adore the name of Nature; which I define not with the Schools, to be the principle of motion and rest, but that streight and regular line, that settled and constant course the wisdom of God hath ordained the actions of his creatures, according to their several kinds. To make a revolution every day, is the Nature of the Sun, because of that necessary course which God hath ordained it, from which it cannot swerve, by a faculty from that voice which first did give it motion. Now this course of Nature God seldome alters or perverts, but like an excellent Artist hath so contrived his work, that with the self same instrument, without a new creation, he may effect his obscurest designs. Thus he sweetneth the Water with a Word, preserveth the Creatures in the Ark, which the blast of his mouth might have as easily created; for God is like a skilful Geometrician, who when more easily, and with

with one ſtroak of his Compaſs he might deſcribe or divide a right line, had yet rather do this in a circle or longer way; according to the conſtituted and fore-laid principles of his Art: yet this rule of his he doth ſometimes pervert, to acquaint the World with his Prerogative, leſt the arrogancy of our reaſon ſhould queſtion his power, and conclude he could not: and thus I call the effects of Nature the works of God, whoſe hand and inſtrument ſhe only is; and therefore to aſcribe his actions unto her, is to devolve the honour of the principal agent, upon the inſtrument; which if with reaſon we may do, then let our hammers riſe up and boaſt they have built our houſes, and our pens receive the honour of our writing. I hold there is a general beauty in the works of God, and therefore no deformity in any kind of ſpecies of creature whatſoever: I cannot tell by what Logick we call a *Toad*, a *Bear*, or an *Elephant* ugly, they being created in

those outward shapes and figures which best express those actions of their inward forms. And having past that general Visitation of God, who saw that all that he had made was good, that is, conformable to his Will, which abhors deformity, and is the rule of order and beauty; there is no deformity but in Monstrosity, wherein notwithstanding there is a kind of Beauty. Nature so ingeniously contriving the irregular parts, as they become sometimes more remarkable than the principal Fabrick. To speak yet more narrowly, there was never any thing ugly or mis-shapen, but the Chaos; wherein notwithstanding, to speak strictly, there was no deformity, because no form, nor was it yet impregnant by the voice of God; Now nature is not at variance with Art, nor art with Nature; they being both servants of his providence: Art is the perfection of Nature: were the World now as it was the sixth day, there were yet a Chaos: Nature hath made one

World,

World, and Art another. In brief, all things are artificial; for Nature is the Art of God.

This is the ordinary and open way of his providence, which Art and Industry have in a good part discovered, whose effects we may foretel without an Oracle: to foreshew these, is not Prophesie, but Pognostication. There is another way full of Meanders and Labyrinths, whereof the Devil and Spirits have no exact Ephimerides, and that is a more particular and obscure method of his providence, directing the operations of individuals and single Essences: this we call Fortune, that serpentine and crooked line, whereby he draws those actions his wisdom intends in a more unknown and secret way: This cryptick and involved method of his providence have I ever admired, nor can I relate the History of my life, the occurrences of my days, the escapes of dangers, and hits of chance, with a *Bezo las Manos* to Fortune, or a bare Gramercy.

to my good Stars: *Abraham* might have thought the *Ram* in the thicket came thither by accident; humane reason would have said, that meer chance conveyed *Moses* in the Ark to the sight of *Pharaoh*'s Daughter: What a Labyrinth is there in the story of *Joseph*, able to convert a Stoick? Surely there are in every man's Life certain rubs, doublings and wrenches, which pass a while under the effects of chance, but at the last well examined, prove the meer hand of God. 'Twas not dumb chance, that to discover the Fougade or Powder-plot, contrived a miscarriage in the Letter. I like the Victory of 88. the better for that one occurrence which our enemies imputed to our dishonour, and the partiality of Fortune, to wit, the tempests and contrariety of Winds. King *Philip* did not detract from the Nation, when he said, he sent his Armado to fight with men, and not to combate with the Winds. Where there is a manifest disproportion between the powers and forces

forces of two ſeveral agents, upon a Maxime of reaſon we may promiſe the Victory to the Superiour; but when unexpected accidents ſlip in, and unthought of occurrences intervene, theſe muſt proceed from a power that owes no obedience to thoſe Axioms: where, as in the writing upon the wall, we may behold the hand, but ſee not the ſpring that moves it. The ſucceſs of that petty Province of *Holland* (of which the Grand *Seignour* proudly ſaid, If they ſhould trouble him as they did the *Spaniard*, he would ſend his men with ſhovels and pick axes, and throw it into the Sea) I cannot altogether aſcribe to the ingenuity and induſtry of the people, but the mercy of God, that hath diſpoſed them to ſuch a thriving Genius; and to the will of his Providence, that diſpoſeth her favour to each Country in their pre-ordinate ſeaſon. All cannot be happy at once; for becauſe the glory of one State depends upon the ruine of another, there is a revolution and viciſſitude

of their greatneſs, and muſt obey the ſwing of that wheel, not moved by Intelligences, but by the hand of God, whereby all Eſtates ariſe to their *Zenith* and Vertical points, according to their predeſtinated periods. For the lives, not only of men, but of Commonwealths, and the whole World, run not upon a Helix that ſtill enlargeth; but on a Circle, where arriving to their Meridian, they decline in obſcurity, and fall under the Horizon again.

Sect. 18. Theſe muſt not therefore be named the effects of Fortune, but in a relative way, and as we term the works of Nature: it was the ignorance of mans reaſon that begat this very name, and by a careleſs term miſcalled the Providence of God: for there is no liberty for cauſes to operate in a looſe and ſtragling way; nor any effect whatſoever, but hath its warrant from ſome univerſal or ſuperiour Cauſe. 'Tis not a ridiculous devotion to ſay a prayer before a game at Tables; for

even

even in *ſortiligies* and matters of greateſt uncertainty, there is a ſetled and pre-ordered courſe of effects. It is we that are blind, not Fortune: becauſe our Eye is too dim to diſcover the myſtery of her effects, we fooliſhly paint her blind, and hoodwink the Providence of the Almighty. I cannot juſtifie that contemptible Proverb, *That fools only are Fortunate*; or that inſolent Paradox, *That a wiſe man is out of the reach of Fortune*; much leſs thoſe opprobrious Epithets of Poets, *Whore*, *Bawd*, and *Strumpet*. 'Tis, I confeſs, the common fate of men of ſingular gifts of mind, to be deſtitute of thoſe of Fortune; which doth not any way deject the Spirit of wiſer judgements, who throughly underſtand the juſtice of this proceeding; and being inrich'd with higher donatives, caſt a more careleſs eye on theſe vulgar parts of felicity. It is a moſt unjuſt ambition to deſire to engroſs the mercies of the Almighty, not to be content with the goods of mind, without a poſ-

a poſſeſſion of thoſe of body or Fortune: and it is an error worſe than hereſie, to adore theſe complemental and circumſtantial pieces of felicity, and undervalue thoſe perfections and eſſential points of happineſs, wherein we reſemble our Maker. To wiſer deſires it is ſatisfaction enough to deſerve, though not to enjoy the favours of Fortune; let Providence provide for Fools: 'tis not partiality, but equity in God, who deals with us but as our natural Parents; thoſe that are able of Body and Mind, he leaves to their deſerts; to thoſe of weaker merits he imparts a larger portion, and pieces out the defect of one, by the acceſs of the other. Thus have we no juſt quarrel with Nature, for leaving us naked; or to envy the Horns, Hoofs, Skins and Furs of other Creatures, being provided with Reaſon, that can ſupply them all. We need not labour with ſo many Arguments to confute Judicial Aſtrology; for if there be a truth therein, it doth not injure Divinity:

if

if to be born under *Mercury* diſpoſeth us to be witty, under *Jupiter* to be wealthy; I do not owe a Knee unto theſe, but unto that merciful Hand that hath ordered my indifferent and uncertain nativity unto ſuch benevolous Aſpects. Thoſe that hold that all things are governed by Fortune, had not erred, had they not perſiſted there: The *Romans* that erected a Temple to Fortune, acknowledged therein, though in a blinder way, ſomewhat of Divinity; for in a wiſe ſupputation all things begin and end in the Almighty. There is a nearer way to Heaven than *Homer*'s Chain; an caſie Logick may conjoyn Heaven and Earth, in one Argument, and with leſs than a *Sorites* reſolve all things into God. For though we chriſten effects by their moſt ſenſible and neareſt Cauſes, yet is God the true and infallible Cauſe of all, whoſe concourſe though it be general, yet doth it ſubdivide it ſelf into the particular Actions of every thing, and is that Spirit, by which each

each ſingular Eſſence not only ſubſiſts, but performs its operation.

Sect. 19. The bad conſtruction, and perverſe comment on theſe pair of ſecond Cauſes, or viſible hands of God, have perverted the Devotion of many unto Atheiſm; who forgetting the honeſt Adviſoes of Faith, have liſtened unto the conſpiracy of Paſſion and Reaſon. I have therefore always endeavoured to compoſe thoſe Feuds and angry Diſſentions between Affection, Faith and Reaſon: For there is in our Soul a kind of Triumvirate, or triple Government of three Competitors, which diſtract the Peace of this our Common-wealth, not leſs than did that other the State of *Rome*.

As Reaſon is a Rebel unto Faith, ſo Paſſion unto Reaſon: As the Propoſitions of Faith ſeem abſurd unto Reaſon, ſo the Theorems of Reaſon unto Paſſion, and both unto Reaſon; yet a moderate and peaceable diſcretion may ſo ſtate and order the matter, that they may be

be all Kings, and yet make but one Monarchy, every one exercising his Soveraignty and Prerogative in a due time and place; according to the restraint and limit of circumstance. There is, as in Philosophy, so in Divinity, sturdy doubts, and boisterous Objections, wherewith the unhappiness of our knowledge too nearly acquainteth us. More of these no man hath known than my self, which I confess I conquered, not in a martial posture, but on my Knees. For our endeavours are not only to combat with doubts, but always to dispute with the Devil: the villany of that Spirit takes a hint of Infidelity from our Studies, and by demonstrating a naturality in one way, makes us mistrust a miracle in another. Thus having perused the *Archidoxes*, and read the secret Sympathies of things, he would disswade my belief from the miracle of the Brazen Serpent, make me conceit that Image worked by Sympathy, and was but an *Ægyptian* trick to cure their Diseases with-

without a miracle. Again, having ſeen ſome experiments of *Bitumen*, and having read far more of *Naphtha*, he whiſpered to my curioſity the fire of the Altar might be natural: and bid me miſtruſt a miracle in *Elias*, when he entrenched the Altar round with Water: for that inflamable ſubſtance yields not eaſily unto Water, but flames in the Arms of its Antagoniſt. And thus would he inveagle my belief to think the combuſtion of *Sodom* might be natural, and that there was an Aſphaltick and Bituminous nature in that Lake before the Fire of *Gomorrah*. I know that *Manna* is now plentifully gathered in *Calabria*; and *Joſephus* tells me, in his days it was as plentiful in *Arabia*; the Devil therefore made the *quære*, Where was then the miracle in the days of *Moſes*: the *Iſraelite* ſaw but that in his time, the Natives of thoſe Countries behold in ours. Thus the Devil played at Cheſs with me, and yielding a Pawn, thought to gain a Queen of me, taking

king advantage of my honeſt endeavours; and whilſt I laboured to raiſe the ſtructure of my Reaſon, he ſtrived to undermine the edifice of my Faith.

Neither had theſe or any other ever ſuch advantage of me, as to incline me to any point of Infidelity or deſperate poſitions of Atheiſm; for I have been theſe many years of opinion there was never any. Thoſe that held Religion was the difference of Man from Beaſts, have ſpoken probably, and proceed upon a principle as inductive as the other. That doctrine of *Epicurus*, that denied the Providence of God, was no Atheiſm, but a magnificent and high ſtrained conceit of his Majeſty, which he deemed too ſublime to mind the trivial Actions of thoſe inferiour Creatures. That fatal neceſſity of the Stoicks, is nothing but the immutable Law of his will. Thoſe that heretofore denied the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, have been condemned, but as Hereticks; and thoſe that now deny our Saviour *Sect.* 20.

our (though more than Hereticks) are not so much as Atheists: for though they deny two persons in the Trinity, they hold as we do, there is but one God.

That Villain and Secretary of Hell, that composed that miscreant piece of the three Impostors, though divided from all Religions, and was neither Jew, Turk nor Christian; was not a positive Atheist. I confess every Country hath its *Machiavel*, every Age its *Lciuan*, whereof common Heads must not hear, nor more advanced Judgments too rashly venture on: It is the Rhetorick of Satan, and may pervert a loose or prejudicate belief.

Sect. 22. I confess I have perused them all, and can discover nothing that may startle a discreet belief; yet are their heads carried off with the Wind and breath of such motives. I remember a Doctor in Physick of *Italy*, who could perfectly believe the immortality of the Soul, because *Galen* seemed to make a doubt thereof. With another I was familiarly acquaint-

quainted in *France*, a Divine, and a man of singular parts, that on the same point was so plunged and gravelled with * three lines of *Seneca*, that all our Antidotes, drawn from both Scripture and Philosophy, could not expel the poyson of his errour. There are a set of Heads, that can credit the relations of Mariners, yet question the Testimonies of St. *Paul*; and peremptorily maintain the traditions of *Ælian* or *Pliny*, yet in Histories of Scripture raise Queries and Objections, believing no more than they can parallel in humane Authors. I confess there are in Scripture Stories that do exceed the Fables of Poets, and to a captious Reader found like *Garagantua* or *Bevis*: Search all the Legends of times past, and the fabulous conceits of these present, and 'twill be hard to find one that deserves to carry the Buckler unto *Sampson*; yet is all this of an easie possibility, if we conceive a divine concourse, or an influence from the little Finger of the Almighty. It is impossible

* *Post Mortem nihil est, ipsaque Mors nihil. Mors individua est, noxia corpori, nec patiens animæ---Toti morimur, nullaque pars manet nostri.*

that either in the discourse of man, or in the infallible Voice of God, to the weakness of our apprehensions, there should not appear irregularities, contradictions, and antinomies: my self could shew a Catalogue of doubts, never yet imagined nor questioned, as I know, which are not resolved at the first hearing; not fantastick Queries or Objections of Air; for I cannot hear of Atoms in Divinity. I can read the History of the Pigeon that was sent out of the Ark, and returned no more, yet not question how she found out her Mate that was left behind: That *Lazarus* was raised from the dead, yet not demand where in the interim his Soul awaited; or raise a Law-case, whether his Heir might lawfully detain his inheritance bequeathed unto him by his death, and he, though restored to life, have no Plea or Title unto his former possessions. Whether *Eve* was framed out of the left side of *Adam*, I dispute not; because I stand not yet assured which is the right side of

of a man; or whether there be any such distinction in Nature: that she was edified out of the Rib of *Adam*, I believe, yet raise no question who shall arise with that Rib at the Resurrection: Whether *Adam* was an Hermaphrodite, as the Rabbins contend upon the Letter of the Text, because it is contrary to reason, there should be an Hermaphrodite, before there was a Woman; or a composition of two Natures, before there was a second composed. Likewise, * whether the World was created in Autumn, Summer, or the Spring] because it was created in them all; for whatsoever Sign the Sun possesseth, those four Seasons are actually existent: It is the Nature of this Luminary to distinguish the several Seasons of the year, all which it makes at one time in the whole Earth, and successively in any part thereof. There are a bundle of curiosities, not only in Philosophy, but in Divinity, proposed and discussed by men of most supposed

abilities, which indeed are not worthy our vacant hours, much leſs our ſerious Studies. Pieces only fit to be placed in *Pantagruel*'s Library, or bound up with *Tartaretus de modo Cacandi.*

In Rabbelais.

Sect. 22. Theſe are niceties that become not thoſe that peruſe ſo ſerious a Myſtery: There are others more generally queſtioned and called to the Bar, yet methinks of an eaſie and poſſible truth.

'Tis ridiculous to put off, or down the general Flood of *Noah*, in that particular inundation of *Deucalion*:] that there was a Deluge once, ſeems not to me ſo great a Miracle, as that there is not one always. || How all the kinds of Creatures, not only in their own bulks, but with a competency of food and ſuſtenance, might be preſerved in one Ark, and within the extent of three hundred Cubits, to a reaſon that rightly examines, it will appear very feaſible.] There is another ſecret not contained in the Scripture, which is more hard

to

to comprehend, * and put the honeſt Father to the refuge of a Miracle:] and that is, not only how the diſtinct pieces of the World, and divided Iſlands ſhould be firſt planted by men, but inhabited by Tigers, Panthers, and Bears. How *America* abounded with Beaſts of prey, and noxious Animals, yet contained not in it that neceſſary Creature, a Horſe, is very ſtrange. By what paſſage thoſe, not only Birds, but dangerous and unwelcome Beaſts came over: How there be Creatures there, (which are not found in this Triple Continent;) all which muſt needs be ſtrange unto us, that hold but one Ark, and that the Creatures began their progreſs from the Mountains of *Ararat*: They who to ſalve this would make the Deluge particular, proceed upon a principle that I can no way grant; not only upon the negative of holy Scriptures, but of mine own Reaſon, whereby I can make it probable, that the World was as well peopled in the time of

Noah, as in ours; * and fifteen hundred years to people the World, as full a time for them, as four thousand years since have been to us.] There are other assertions and common Tenents drawn from Scripture, and generally believed as Scripture, whereunto notwithstanding, I would never betray the liberty of my Reason. 'Tis a Paradox to me, ‖ that *Methusalem* was the longest liv'd of all the Children of *Adam*] and no man will be able to prove it; when from the process of the Text, I can manifest it may be otherwise. * That *Judas* perished by hanging himself, there is no certainty in Scripture: though in one place it seems to affirm it, and by a doubtful word hath given occasion to translate it; yet in another place, in a more punctual description, it makes it improbable, and seems to overthrow it.] That our Fathers, after the Flood, erected the Tower of *Babel*, to preserve themselves against a second Deluge, is generally opinioned and believed, yet

yet is there another intention of theirs expreſſed in Scripture: Beſides, it is improbable from the circumſtance of the place, that is, a plain in the Land of *Shinar*: Theſe are no points of Faith, and therefore may admit a free diſpute. There are yet others, and thoſe familiarly conclude from the Text, wherein (under favour) I ſee no conſequence: the Church of *Rome*, confidently proves the opinion of Tutelary Angels, from that Anſwer when *Peter* knockt at the Door; *'Tis not he, but his Angel*; that is, might ſome ſay, his Meſſenger, or ſome body from him; for ſo the Original ſignifies; and is as likely to be the doubtful Families meaning. This expoſition I once ſuggeſted to a young Divine, that anſwered upon this point; to which I remember the *Franciſcan* Opponent replyed no more; but That it was a new, and no authentick interpretation.

Theſe are but the concluſions and fallible diſcourſes of man upon the *Sect.* 23.

Word of God, for ſuch I do believe the holy Scriptures; yet were it of man, I could not chuſe but ſay, it was the ſingulareſt, and ſuperlative piece that hath been extant ſince the Creation: were I a Pagan, I ſhould not refrain the Lecture of it; * and cannot but commend the judgment of *Ptolomy*,] that thought not his Library compleat without it. ‖ The Alcoran of the *Turks* (I ſpeak without prejudice) is an ill compoſed Piece, containing in it vain and ridiculous Errors in Philoſophy] impoſſibilities, fictions, and vanities beyond laughter, maintained by evident and open Sophiſms, the Policy of Ignorance, depoſition of Univerſities, and baniſhment of Learning; that hath gotten Foot by Arms and violence: This without a blow, hath diſſeminated it ſelf through the whole Earth. It is not unremarkable what *Philo* firſt obſerved, That the Law of *Moſes* continued two thouſand years without the leaſt alteration; whereas, we ſee, the Laws of

of other Common-weals do alter with occasions; and even those, that pretended their Original from some Divinity, to have vanished without trace or memory. * I believe besides *Zoroaster*, there were divers that writ before *Moses*] who, notwithstanding have suffered the common fate of time. Mens Works have an age like themselves; and though they out-live their Authors, yet have they a stint and period to their duration: This only is a work too hard for the teeth of time, and cannot perish but in the general Flames, when all things shall confess their Ashes.

I have heard some with deep sighs lament the lost lines of *Cicero*; ‖others with as many groans deplore the combustion of the Library of *Alexandria*: for my own part, I think there be too many in the World, and could with patience behold the urn and ashes of the *Vatican*, could I, with a few others, recover the perished leaves of *Solomon*. * I would not omit a Copy *Sect.* 24.

of

of *Enoch*'s Pillars, had they many nearer Authors than *Joſephus*] or did not reliſh ſomewhat of the Fable. Some men have written more than others have ſpoken; * *Pineda* quotes more Authors in one work, than are neceſſary in a whole World. ‖ Of thoſe three great inventions in *Germany*, there are two which are not without their incommodities,] and 'tis diſputable whether they exceed not their uſe and commodities. 'Tis not a melancholy *Utinam* of my own, but the deſires of better heads, that there were a general Synod; not to unite the incompatible difference of Religion, but for the benefit of learning, to reduce it as it lay at firſt, in a few, and ſolid Authors; and to condemn to the fire thoſe ſwarms & millions of *Rhapſodies* begotten only to diſtract and abuſe the weaker judgements of Scholars, and *to maintain the trade and myſtery of Typographers.*

* *Pineda* in his *Monarchica Eccleſiaſtica* quotes one thouſand and forty Authors.

Sect. 25. I cannot but wonder with what exception the *Samaritans* could confine their belief to the *Pentateuch*, or five Books of *Moſes*. I am aſhamed

med at the Rabbinical Interpretation of the Jews, upon the old Testament, as much as their defection from the New. And truly it is beyond wonder, how that contemptible and degenerate issue of *Jacob*, once so devoted to Ethnick Superstition, and so easily seduced to the Idolatry of their Neighbours, should now in such an obstinate and peremptory belief adhere unto their own Doctrine, expect impossibilities, and in the face and eye of the Church, persist without the least hope of Conversion. This is a vice in them, that were a vertue in us; for obstinacy in a bad Cause, is but constancy in a good. And herein I must accuse those of my own Religion; for there is not any of such a fugitive Faith, such an unstable belief, as a Christian; none that do so oft transform themselves, not unto several shapes of Christianity and of the same Species, but unto more unnatural and contrary Forms, of Jew and Mahometan; that from the name of Saviour, can condescend to the bare term

term of Prophet; and from an old belief that he is come, fall to a new expectation of his coming. It is the promiſe of Chriſt to make us all one Flock; but how and when this Union ſhall be, is as obſcure to me as the laſt day. Of thoſe four Members of Religion we hold a ſlender proportion; there are, I confeſs, ſome new additions, yet ſmall to thoſe which accrew to our Adverſaries, and thoſe only drawn from the revolt of Pagans, men but of negative Impieties, and ſuch as deny Chriſt, but becauſe they never heard of him: but the Religion of the Jew is expreſly againſt the Chriſtian, and the Mahometan againſt both. For *the Turk, in the bulk he now ſtands, he is beyond all hope of converſion:] if he fall aſunder, there may be conceived hopes, but not without ſtrong improbabilities. The Jew is obſtinate in all fortunes; the perſecution of fifteen hundred years hath but confirmed them in their Errour: they have already endured what-

whatsoever may be inflicted, and have suffered, in a bad cause, even to the condemnation of their enemies. Persecution is a bad and indirect way to plant Religion; It hath been the unhappy method of angry Devotions, not only to confirm honest Religion, but wicked Heresies, and extravagant Opinions. It was the first stone and Basis of our Faith, *none can more justly boast of Persecutions, and glory in the number and valour of Martyrs;] For, to speak properly, those are true and almost only examples of fortitude: Those that are fetch'd from the field, or drawn from the actions of the Camp, are not oft-times so truely precedents of valour as audacity, and at the best attain but to some bastard piece of fortitude: ‖ If we shall strictly examine the circumstances and requisites which *Aristotle* requires to true and perfect valour, we shall find the name only in his Master *Alexander*, and as little in that Roman Worthy, *Julius Cæsar*;] and if

if any, in that easie and active way, have done so nobly as to deserve that name, yet in the passive and more terrible piece these have surpassed, and in a more heroical way may claim the honour of that Title. 'Tis not in the power of every honest Faith to proceed thus far, or pass to Heaven through the flames; every one hath it not in that full measure, nor in so audacious and resolute a temper, as to endure those terrible tests and trials; who notwithstanding in a peaceable way do truely adore their Saviour, and have (no doubt) a Faith acceptable in the eyes of God.

Sect. 26. Now as all that dye in the War are not termed Souldiers; so neither can I properly term all those that suffer in matters of Religion, Martyrs. * The Council of *Constance* condemns *John Huss* for an Heretick; the Stories of his own Party stile him a Martyr:] He must need offend the Divinity of both, that says he was neither the one nor the other: There are many (que-

(queſtionleſs) canonized on earth, that ſhall never be Saints in Heaven; and have their names in Hiſtories and Martyrologies, who in the eyes of God are not ſo perfect Martyrs, as was * that wiſe Heathen *Socrates*, that ſuffered on a fundamental point of Religion, the Unity of God.] * I have often pitied the miſerable Biſhop that ſuffered in the cauſe of *Antipodes*,] yet cannot chuſe but accuſe him of as much madneſs, for expoſing his living on ſuch a trifle; as thoſe of ignorance and folly, that condemned him. I think my conſcience will not give me the lye, if I ſay there are not many extant that in a noble way fear the face of death leſs than my ſelf; yet from the moral duty I owe to the Commandment of God, and the natural reſpects that I tender unto the conſervation of my eſſence and being, I would not periſh upon a Ceremony, Politick points, or indifferency: nor is my belief of that untractible temper, as not to bow at their obſtacles, or connive

at

at matters wherein there are not manifeſt impieties: The leaven therefore and ferment of all, not only Civil, but Religious actions, is Wiſdom; without which, to commit our ſelves to the flames, is Homicide, and (I fear) but to paſs through one fire into another.

Sect. 27. That Miracles are ceaſed, I can neither prove, nor abſolutely deny, much leſs define the time and period of their ceſſation: that they ſurvived Chriſt, is manifeſt upon the Record of Scripture: that they out-lived the Apoſtles alſo, and were revived at the Converſion of Nations, many years after, we cannot deny, if we ſhall not queſtion thoſe Writers whoſe teſtimonies we do not controvert, in points that make for our own opinions; therefore that may have ſome truth in it that is reported by the Jeſuites of their Miracles in the *Indies*; I could wiſh it were true, or had any other teſtimony than their own Pens. They may eaſily believe thoſe Miracles abroad, who daily conceive a great-

greater at home, the transmutation of those visible elements into the body and blood of our Saviour: for the conversion of Water into Wine, which he wrought in *Cana*, or what the Devil would have had him done in the Wilderness, of Stones into Bread, compared to this, will scarce deserve the name of a Miracle. Though indeed to speak properly, there is not one Miracle greater than another, they being the extraordinary effects of the Hand of God, to which all things are of an equal facility; and to create the World as easie as one single Creature. For this is also a Miracle, not onely to produce effects against, or above Nature, but before Nature; and to create Nature as great a Miracle, as to contradict or transcend her. We do too narrowly define the Power of God, restraining it to our capacities. * I hold that God can do all things; how he should work contradictions I do not understand, yet dare not therefore deny. ‖ I cannot see why the Angel of God should question *Esdras* to recal the time past, if it

were beyond his own power; or that God ſhould poſe mortality in that, which he was not able to perform himſelf. I will not ſay God cannot, but he will not perform many things, which we plainly affirm he cannot: this I am ſure is the mannerlieſt propoſition, wherein, notwithſtanding, I hold no Paradox. For ſtrictly his power is the ſame with his will, and they both with all the reſt do make but one God.

Sect. 28. Therefore that Miracles have been, I do believe; that they may yet be wrought by the living, I do not deny: but have no confidence in thoſe which are fathered on the dead; and this hath ever made me ſuſpect the efficacy of reliques, to examine the bones, queſtion the habits and appurtenances of Saints, and even of Chriſt himſelf. I cannot conceive why the Croſs that *Helena* found, and whereon Chriſt himſelf dyed, ſhould have power to reſtore others unto life: *I excuſe not *Conſtantine* from a fall off his Horſe, or a miſchief from his enemies, upon the wearing thoſe nails] on his bridle, which our Saviour

our bore upon the Croſs in his hands. I compute among *Piæ fraudes*, nor many degrees before conſecrated Swords and Roſes, that which *Baldwyn* King of *Jeruſalem* return'd the *Genoveſe* for their coſt and pains in his War, to wit, the aſhes of *John* the Baptiſt. Thoſe that hold the ſanctity of their ſouls doth leave behind a tincture and ſacred faculty on their bodies, ſpeak naturally of Miracles, and do not ſalve the doubt. Now one reaſon I tender ſo little Devotion unto Reliques is, I think, the ſlender and doubtful reſpect I have always held unto Antiquities: for that indeed which I admire is far before Antiquity, that is, Eternity; and that is God himſelf; who though he be ſtyled the ancient of days, cannot receive the adjunct of Antiquity, who was before the World, and ſhall be after it, yet is not older than it; for in his years there is no Climacter; his duration is Eternity, and far more venerable than Antiquity.

* But above all things I wonder how the curioſity of wiſer heads coulds paſs that great and indiſpu- *Sect.* 29.

table Miracle, the ceſſation of Oracles;] and in what ſwoun their Reaſons lay, to content themſelves, and ſit down with ſuch a far-fetch'd and ridiculous reaſon as *Plutarch* alleadgeth for it. The Jews that can believe the ſupernatural Solſtice of the Sun in the days of *Joſhua*, have yet the impudence to deny the Eclipſe, which every Pagan confeſſed, at his death: but for this, it is evident beyond all contradiction, * the Devil himſelf confeſſed it. Certainly it is not a warrantable curioſity, to examine the verity of Scripture by the concordance of humane hiſtory, or ſeek to confirm the Chronicle of *Heſter* or *Daniel*, by the authority of *Magaſthenes* or *Herodotus*. I confeſs I have had an unhappy curioſity this way, * till I laughed my ſelf out of it with a piece of *Juſtine*, where he delivers that the Children of *Iſrael* for being ſcabbed were baniſhed out of *Egypt*.] And truely ſince I have underſtood the occurrences of the World, and know in what counterfeit ſhapes, and deceitful vizards times preſent repreſent on the ſtage things

* In his Oracle to *Auguſtus*.

things past; I do believe them little more then things to come. Some have been of my opinion, and endeavoured to write the History of their own lives; wherein *Moses* hath outgone them all, and left not onely the story of his life, but as some will have it, of his death also.

It is a riddle to me, how this story of Oracles hath not worm'd out of the World that doubtful conceit of Spirits and Witches; how so many learned heads should so far forget their Metaphysicks, and destroy the ladder and scale of creatures, as to question the existence of Spirits: for my part, * I have ever believed, and do now know, that there are Witches:] they that doubt of these do not onely deny them, but spirits; and are obliquely, and upon consequence a sort not of Infidels, but Atheists. Those that to confute their incredulity desire to see apparitions, shall questionless never behold any, ‖ nor have the power to be so much as Witches:] the Devil hath them already in a heresie as capital as Witchcraft; and to appear to them, *Sect.* 30.

were but to convert them. Of all the deluſions wherewith he deceives mortality, there is not any that puzleth me more than the Leger-demain of *Changelings*; I do not credit thoſe transformations of reaſonable creatures into beaſts, or that the Devil hath a power to tranſpeciate a man into a Horſe, who tempted Chriſt (as a trial of his Divinity) to convert but ſtones into bread. I could believe that Spirits uſe with man the act of carnality, and that in both ſexes; I conceive they may aſſume, ſteal, or contrive a body, wherein there may be action enough to content decrepit luſt, or paſſion to ſatisfie more active veneries; yet in both, without a poſſibility of generation: and therefore that opinion that Antichriſt ſhould be born of the Tribe of **Dan*, by conjunction with the Divil,] is ridiculous, and a conceit fitter for a Rabbin than a Chriſtian. I hold that the Devil doth really poſſeſs ſome men, the ſpirit of Melancholly others, the ſpirit of Deluſion others; that as the Devil is concealed and denyed by ſome, ſo

God

God and good Angels are pretended by others whereof the late defection of the Maid of *Germany* hath left a pregnant example.

Again, I believe that all that use *Sect.* 31. forceries, incantations, and spells, are not Witches, or as we term them, Magicians; I conceive there is a traditional Magick, not learned immediately from the Devil, but at second hand from his Scholars, who having once the secret betrayed, are able, and do emperically practise without his advice, they proceeding upon the principles of Nature; where actives aptly conjoyned to disposed passives, will under any Master produce their effects. Thus I think at first a part of Philosophy was Witchcraft, which being afterward derived to one another, proved but Philosophy, and was indeed no more but the honest effects of Nature: What invented by us is Philosophy, learned from him is Magick. We do surely owe the discovery of many secrets to the discovery of good and bad Angels. I could never pass that sentence of *Paracelsus*, without an

asterisk, or annotation; * *Ascendens constellatum multa revelat, quærentibus magnalia naturæ*, i. e. *opera Dei.* I do think that many mysteries ascribed to our own inventions, have been the courteous revelations of Spirits; for those noble essences in Heaven bear a friendly regard unto their fellow Nature on Earth; and therefore believe that those many prodigies and ominous prognosticks, which fore-run the ruines of States, Princes, and private persons, are the charitable premonitions of good Angels, which more careless enquiries term but the effects of chance and nature.

* Thereby is meant our good Angel appointed us from our Nativity.

Sect. 32. Now besides these particular and divided Spirits, there may be (for ought I know) an universal and common Spirit to the whole World. It was the opinion of *Plato*, and it is yet of the *Hermetical* Philosophers: if there be a common nature that unites and tyes the scattered and divided individuals into one species, why may there not be one that unites them all? However, I am sure there is a common Spirit that plays within

within us, yet makes no part in us; and that is the Spirit of God, the fire and ſcintillation of that noble and mighty Eſſence, which is the life and radical heat of ſpirits, and thoſe eſſences that know not the vertue of the Sun, a fire quite contrary to the fire of Hell: This is that gentle heat that brooded on the waters, and in ſix days hatched the World; this is that irradiation that diſpels the miſts of Hell, the clouds of horrour, fear, ſorrow, deſpair; and preſerves the region of the mind in ſerenity: whatſoever feels not the warm gale, and gentle ventilation of this Spirit, (though I feel his pulſe) I dare not ſay he lives; for truely without this, to me there is no heat under the Tropick; nor any light, though I dwelt in the body of the Sun.

As when the labouring Sun hath wrought his track
Up to the top of lofty Cancers *back,*
The icie Ocean cracks, the frozen pole
Thaws with the heat of the Celeſtial coale;
So when thy abſent beams begin t' impart
Again a Solſtice on my frozen heart,

My

My winter's ov'r; my drooping ſpirits ſing,
And every part revives into a Spring.
But if thy quickning beams a while decline,
And with their light bleſs not this Orb of mine,
A chilly froſt ſurpriſeth every member,
And in the midſt of June *I feel* December.
O how this earthly temper doth debaſe
The noble Soul, in this her humble place.
Whoſe wingy nature ever doth aſpire
To reach that place whence firſt it took its fire.
Theſe flames I feel, which in my heart do dwel
Are not thy beams, but take their fire from Hel
O quench them all, and let thy light divine
Be as the Sun to this poor Orb of mine;
And to thy ſacred Spirit convert thoſe fires,
Whoſe earthly fumes choak my devout aſpires.

Sect. 33. Therefore for Spirits, I am ſo far from denying their exiſtence, that I could eaſily believe, that not onely whole Countries, but particular perſons have their Tutelary and Guardian Angels: * It is not a new opinion of the Church of *Rome*, but an old one of *Pythagoras* and *Plato*;] there is no hereſie in it, and if not manifeſtly defin'd in Scripture, yet is an opinion of a good and wholeſome uſe in the courſe and actions of a mans life, and would ſerve as an *Hypotheſis* to ſalve many doubts, whereof

whereof common Philoſophy affordeth no ſolution. Now if you demand my opinion and Metaphyſicks of their natures, I confeſs them very ſhallow, moſt of them in a negative way, like that of God; or in a comparative, between our ſelves and fellow-creatures; for there is in this Univerſe a Stair, or manifeſt Scale of creatures, riſing not diſorderly, or in confuſion, but with a comely method and proportion. Between creatures of meer exiſtence and things of life, there is a large diſproportion of nature; between plants and animals of creatures of ſenſe, a wider difference; between them and man, a far greater: and if the proportion hold one, between Man an Angels there ſhould be yet a greater. We do not comprehend their natures, who retain the firſt definition of *Porphyry*, and diſtinguiſh them from our ſelves by immortality; for before his Fall, 'tis thought, Man alſo was Immortal; yet muſt we needs affirm that he had a different eſſence from the Angels; having therefore no certain knowledge of their Natures, 'tis no bad

bad method of the Schools, whatsoever perfection we find obscurely in our selves, in a more compleat and absolute way to ascribe unto them. I believe they have an extemporary knowledge, and upon the first motion of their reason do what we cannot without study or deliberation; that they know things by their forms, and define by specifical difference what we describe by accidents and properties; and therefore probabilities to us may be demonstrations unto them: that they have knowledge not onely of the specifical, but numerical forms of individuals, and understand by what reserved difference each single *Hypostasis*, (besides the relation to its species) becomes its numerical self. That as the Soul hath a power to move the body it informs, so there's a faculty to move any, though inform none; ours upon restraint of time, place, and distance; but that invisible hand that conveyed *Habakkuk* to the Lyons Den, or *Philip* to *Azotus*, infringeth this rule, and hath a secret conveyance, wherewith mortality

tality is not acquainted: if they have that intuitive knowledge, whereby as in reflexion they behold the thoughts of one another, I cannot peremptorily deny but they know a great part of ours. They that to refute the Invocation of Saints, have denied that they have any knowledge of our affairs below, have proceeded too far, and must pardon my opinion, till I can throughly answer that piece of Scripture, *At the conversion of a sinner the Angels in Heaven rejoyce.* *I cannot with those in that great Father securely interpret the work of the first day, *Fiat lux,* to the creation of Angels,] though (I confess there is not any creature that hath so neer a glymple of their nature, as light in the Sun and Elements. We stile it a bare accident, but ‖ where it subsists alone, 'tis a spiritual Substance, and may be an Angel:] in brief, conceive light invisible, and that is a Spirit.

These are certainly the Magisterial and master-pieces of the Creator, the Flower or (as we may say) the best part of nothing, actually existing *Sect.* 34.

ing, what we are but in hopes, and probability; we are onely that amphibious piece between a corporal and ſpiritual Eſſence, that middle form that links thoſe two together, and makes good the Method of God and Nature, that jumps not from extreams, but unites the incompatible diſtances by ſome middle and participating natures: that we are the breath and ſimilitude of God, it is indiſputable, and upon record of holy Scripture; but to call our ſelves a Microcoſm, or little World, I thought it onely a pleaſant trope of Rhetorick, till my neer judgement and ſecond thoughts told me there was a real truth therein: for firſt we are a rude maſs, and in the rank of creatures, which onely are, and have a dull kind of being not yet priviledged with life, or preferred to ſenſe or reaſon; next we live the life of Plants, the life of Animals, the life of Men, and at laſt the life of Spirits, running on in one myſterious nature thoſe five kinds of exiſtences, which comprehend the creatures not onely of the World, but of the Uni-

verſe;

verſe; thus is man that great and true *Amphibium*, whoſe nature is diſpoſed to live not onely like other creatures in divers elements, but in divided and diſtinguiſhed worlds: for though there be but one to ſenſe, there are two to reaſon; the one viſible, the other inviſible, whereof *Moſes* ſeems to have left deſcription, and of the other ſo obſcurely, that ſome parts thereof are yet in controverſie. And truely for the firſt chapters of *Geneſis*, I muſt confeſs a great deal of obſcurity; though Divines have to the power of humane reaſon endeavoured to make all go in a literal meaning, yet thoſe allegorical interpretations are alſo probable, and perhaps the myſtical method of *Moſes* bred up in the Hieroglyphical Schools of the *Egyptians*.

Now for that immaterial world, methinks we need not wander ſo far as beyond the firſt moveable; for even in this material Fabrick the ſpirits walk as freely exempt from the affection of time, place, and motion, as beyond the extreameſt circumference: do but extract from the

the corpulency of bodies, or reſolve things beyond their firſt matter, and you diſcover the habitation of Angels, which if I call the ubiquitary, and omnipreſent eſſence of God, I hope I ſhall not offend Divinity: for before the Creation of the World, God was really all things. For the Angels he created no new World, or determinate manſion, and therefore they are everywhere where is his Eſſence, and do live at a diſtance even in himſelf. That God made all things for man, is in ſome ſenſe true, yet not ſo far as to ſubordinate the Creation of thoſe purer Creatures unto ours, though as miniſtring Spirits they do, and are willing to fulfil the will of God in theſe lower and ſublunary affairs of man: God made all things for himſelf, and it is impoſſible he ſhould make them for any other end than his own Glory; it is all he can receive, and all that is without himſelf: for honour being an external adjunct, and in the honourer rather than in the perſon honoured, it was neceſſary to make a Creature, from whom he might receive

receive his homage, and that is in the other world Angels, in this, Man; which when we neglect, we forget the very end of our Creation, and may justly provoke God, not onely to repent that he hath made the World, but that he hath sworn he would not destroy it. That there is but one World, is a conclusion of Faith. *Aristotle* with all his Philosophy hath not been able to prove it, and as weakly that the world was eternal; that dispute much troubled the Pen of the Philosophers, * but *Moses* decided that question, and all is salved with the new term of a Creation,] that is, a production of something out of nothing; and what is that? Whatsoever is opposite to something; or more exactly, that which is truely contrary unto God: for he onely is, all others have an existence with dependency, and are sometime but by a distinction; and herein is Divinity conformant unto Philosophy, and generation not onely founded on contrarieties, but also creation; God being all things, is contrary unto nothing, out of

which were made all things, and ſo nothing became ſomething, and *Omniety* informed *Nullity* into an Eſſence.

Sect. 36. The whole Creation is a Myſtery, and particularly that of Man; at the blaſt of his mouth were the reſt of the Creatures made, and at his bare word they ſtarted out of nothing: but in the frame of man (as the Text deſcribes it) he played the ſenſible operator, and ſeemed not ſo much to create, as make him; when he had ſeparated the materials of other creatures, there conſequently reſulted a form and ſoul; but having raiſed the walls of man, he has driven to a ſecond and harder creation of a ſubſtance like himſelf, an incorruptible and immortal Soul. For theſe two affections we have the Philoſophy and opinion of the Heathens, the flat affirmative of *Plato*, and not a negative from *Ariſtotle*: there is another ſcruple caſt in by Divinity (concerning its production) much diſputed in the *Germane* auditories, and with that indifferency and equality of arguments, as leave the

the controversie undetermined. I am not of *Paracelsus* mind, that boldly delivers a receipt to make a man without conjunction; yet cannot but wonder at the multitude of heads that do deny traduction, having no other argument to confirm their belief, then that Rhetorical sentence, and *Antimetathesis* of *Augustine, Creando infunditur, infundendo creatur:* either opinion will consist well enough with Religion; yet I should rather incline to this, did not one objection haunt me, not wrung from speculations and subtilties, but from common sense, and observation; not pickt from the leaves of any Author, but bred amongst the weeds and tares of mine own brain: And this is a conclusion from the equivocal and monstrous productions in the copulation of a Man with a Beast; for if the Soul of man be not transmitted, and transfused in the seed of the Parents, why are not those productions meerly beasts, but have also an impression and tincture of reason in as high a measure, as it can evidence it self

in thoſe improper Organs? Nor truely can I peremptorily deny, that the Soul in this her ſublunary eſtate, is wholly, and in all acceptions inorganical, but that for the performance of her ordinary actions, there is required not onely a ſymmetry and proper diſpoſition of Organs, but a Craſis and temper correſpondent to its operations. Yet is not this maſs of fleſh and viſible ſtructure the inſtrument and proper corps of the Soul, but rather of Senſe, and that the hand of Reaſon. * In our ſtudy of Anatomy there is a maſs of myſterious Philoſophy, and ſuch as reduced the very Heathens to Divinity:] yet amongſt all thoſe rare diſcourſes, and curious pieces I find in the Fabrick of man, I do not ſo much content my ſelf, as in that I find not, there is no Organ or Inſtrument for the rational ſoul: for in the brain, which we term the ſeat of reaſon, there is not any thing of moment more than I can diſcover in the crany of a beaſt: and this is a ſenſible and no inconſiderable argument of the inorganity of the Soul, at leaſt in

that ſenſe we uſually ſo conceive it. Thus we are men, and we know not how; there is ſomething in us that can be without us, and will be after us, though it is ſtrange that it hath no hiſtory, what it was before us, nor cannot tell how it entred in us.

Now for theſe walls of fleſh, wherein the Soul doth ſeem to be immured, before the Reſurrection, it is nothing but an elemental compoſition, and a Fabrick that muſt fall to aſhes. *All fleſh is graſs*, is not onely metaphorically, but litterally true; for all thoſe creatures we behold, are but the herbs of the field, digeſted into fleſh in them, or more remotely carnified in our ſelves. Nay further, we are what we all abhor, *Anthropophagi* and Cannibals, devourers not onely of men, but of our ſelves; and that not in an allegory, but a poſitive truth: for all this maſs of fleſh which we behold, came in at our mouths; this frame we look upon, hath been upon our trenchers; in brief, we have devour'd our ſelves. *I cannot believe the wiſdom of *Pythagoras* did *Sect.* 37.

ever positively, and in a literal sense affirm his *Metempsycosis*, or impossible transmigration of the Souls of men into beasts: of all Metamorphoses, or transmigrations, I believe only one, that is of *Lots* wife; for that of *Nebuchodonosor* proceeded not so far; in all others I conceive there is no further verity than is contained in their implicite sense and morality. I believe that the whole frame of a beast doth perish, and is lest in the same state after death, as before it was materialled unto life; that the souls of men know neither contrary nor corruption; that they subsist beyond the body, and outlive death by the priviledge of their proper natures, and without a Miracle; that the Souls of the faithful, as they leave Earth, take possession of Heaven; that those apparitions and ghosts of departed persons are not the wandring souls of men, but the unquiet walks of Devils, prompting and suggesting us unto mischief, blood, and villany, instilling, and stealing into our hearts; that the blessed spirits are not at rest

in

in their graves, but wander ſollicitous of the affairs of the World; but that thoſe phantaſms appear often, and do frequent Cœmeteries, Charnel-houſes, and Churches, it is becauſe thoſe are the dormitories of the dead, where the Devil like an inſolent Champion beholds with pride the ſpoils and Trophies of his Victory over *Adam.*

This is that diſmal conqueſt we *Sect.* 38.
all deplore, that makes us ſo often cry (O) *Adam quid feciſti?* I thank God I have not thoſe ſtrait ligaments, or narrow obligations to the World, as to dote on life, or be convulſt and tremble at the name of death: Not that I am inſenſible of the dread and horrour thereof, or by raking into the bowels of the deceaſed, continual ſight of Anatomies, Skeletons, or Cadaverous reliques. like Veſpilloes, or Grave-makers, I am become ſtupid, or have forgot the apprehenſion of Mortality; but that marſhalling all the horrours and contemplating the extremities thereof, I find not any thing therein able to daunt the courage of a man,

much leſs a well-reſolved Chriſtian. And therefore am not angry at the errour of our firſt Parents, or unwilling to bear a part of this common fate, and like the beſt of them to dye, that is, to ceaſe to breathe, to take a farewel of the elements, to be a kind of nothing for a moment, to be within one inſtant of a ſpirit. When I take a full view and circle of my ſelf, without this reaſonable moderator, and equal piece of Juſtice, Death, I do conceive my ſelf the miſerableſt perſon extant; were there not another life that I hope for, all the vanities of this World ſhould not intreat a moments breath from me: could the Devil work my belief to imagine I could never dye, I would not outlive that very thought; I have ſo abject a conceit of this common way of exiſtence, this retaining to the Sun and Elements, I cannot think this is to be a man, or to live according to the dignity of humanity: in expectation of a better, I can with patience embrace this life, yet in my beſt meditations do often defie death: I

honour

honour any man that contemns it, nor can I highly love any that is afraid of it: this makes me naturally love a Souldier, and honour those tattered and contemptible Regiments, that will dye at the command of a Sergeant. For a Pagan there may be some motives to be in love with life; but for a Christian to be amazed at death, I see not how he can escape this Dilemma, that he is too sensible of this life, or hopeless of the life to come.

Some Divines count *Adam* 30 years old at his Creation, because they suppose him created in the perfect age and stature of man. And surely we are all out of the computation of our age, and every man is some months elder than he bethinks him; for we live, move, have a being, and are subject to the actions of the elements, and the malice of diseases, in that other World, the truest Microcosm, the Womb of our Mother. For besides that general and common existence we are conceived to hold in our Chaos, and whilst we sleep within the bosome of our causes, *Sect.* 39.

causes, we enjoy a being and life in three distinct worlds, wherein we receive most manifest graduations: In that obscure World and womb of our mother, our time is short, computed by the Moon; yet longer then the days of many creatures that behold the Sun, our selves being not yet without life, sense, and reason; though for the manifestation of its actions, it awaits the opportunity of objects, and seems to live there but in its root and soul of vegetation; entring afterwards upon the scene of the World, we arise up and become another creature, performing the reasonable actions of man, and obscurely manifesting that part of Divinity in us, but not in complement and perfection till we have once more cast our secondine, that is, this slough of flesh, and are delivered into the last world, that is, that ineffable place of *Paul*, that proper *ubi* of spirits. The smattering I have of the Philosophers Stone (which is something more then the perfect exaltation of Gold) hath taught me a great deal of Divinity, and instructed my belief

lief, how that immortal ſpirit, and incorruptible ſubſtance of my Soul may lye obſcure, and ſleep a while within this houſe of fleſh. Thoſe ſtrange and myſtical tranſmigrations that I have obſerved in Silk-worms, turned my Philoſophy into Divinity. There is in theſe works of nature, which ſeem to puzzle reaſon, ſomething Divine, and hath more in it then the eye of a common ſpectator doth diſcover.

I am naturally baſhful, nor hath converſation, age or travel, been able to effront, or enharden me; yet I have one part of modeſty, which I have ſeldom diſcovered in another, that is, (to ſpeak truely) I am not ſo much afraid of death, as aſhamed thereof; 'tis the very diſgrace and ignominy of our natures, that in a moment can ſo disfigure us, that our neareſt friends, Wife and Children ſtand afraid and ſtart at us. The Birds and Beaſts of the field, that before in a natural fear obeyed us, forgetting all allegiance begin to prey upon us. This very conceit hath in a tempeſt diſpoſed and left me willing *Sect.* 40.

ling to be ſwallowed up in the abyſs of waters; wherein I had periſhed unſeen, unpityed, without wondering eyes, tears of pity, Lectures of mortality, and none had ſaid, *Quantum mutatus ab illo!* Not that I am aſhamed of the Anatomy of my parts, or can accuſe Nature for playing the bungler in any part of me, or my own vitious life for contracting any ſhameful diſeaſe upon me, whereby I might not call my ſelf as wholeſome a morſel for the worms as any.

Sect. 41. Some upon the courage of a fruitful iſſue, wherein, as in the trueſt Chronicle, they ſeem to outlive themſelves, can with greater patience away with death. This conceit and counterfeit ſubſiſting in our progenies, ſeems to be a meer fallacy, unworthy the deſires of a man, that can but conceive a thought of the next World; who, in a nobler ambition, ſhould deſire to live in his ſubſtance in Heaven, rather than his name and ſhadow in the earth. And therefore at my death I mean to take a total adieu of the world, not caring

for

for a Monument, Hiſtory, or Epitaph, not ſo much as the memory of my name to be found any where, but in the univerſal Regiſter of God. I am not yet ſo Cynical, as to approve the *Teſtament of *Diogenes*, nor do I altogether allow that *Rodomontado* of *Lucan*;

——*Cœlo tegitur, qui non habet urnam.*

He that unburied lies wants not his Herſe,
For unto him a Tomb's the Univerſe.

*Who willed his friend not to bury him, but hang him up with a ſtaff in his hand to fright away the Crows.

But commend in my calmer judgement, thoſe ingenuous intentions that deſire to ſleep by the urns of theirs Fathers, and ſtrive to go the neateſt way unto corruption. *I do not envy the temper of Crows and Daws,] nor the numerous and weary days of our Fathers before the Flood. If there be any truth in Aſtrology, I may outlive a Jubilee; as yet I have not ſeen one revolution of *Saturn*, nor hath my pulſe beat thirty years; and yet excepting one, have ſeen the Aſhes, & left under ground, all the Kings of *Europe*; have been contemporary to three Emperours, four

four Grand Signiours, and as many Popes: methinks I have outlived my ſelf, and begin to be weary of the Sun; I have ſhaken hands with delight: in my warm blood and Canicular days, I perceive I do anticipate the vices of age; the World to me is but a dream or mock-ſhow, and we all therein but Pantalones and Anticks, to my ſeverer contemplations.

Sect. 42. It is not, I confeſs, an unlawful Prayer to deſire to ſurpaſs the days of our Saviour, or wiſh to outlive that age wherein he thought fitteſt to dye; yet if (as Divinity affirms) there ſhall be no gray hairs in Heaven, but all ſhall riſe in the perfect ſtate of men, we do but outlive thoſe perfections in this World, to be recalled unto them by a greater Miracle in the next, and run on here but to be retrograde hereafter. Were there any hopes to outlive vice, or a point to be ſuper-annuated from ſin, it were worthy our knees to implore the days of *Methuſelah*. But age doth not rectifie, but incurvate our natures, turning bad diſpoſitions

sitions into worser habits, and (like diseases) brings on incurable vices; for every day as we grow weaker in age, we grow stronger in sin; and the number of our days doth but make our sins innumerable. The same vice committed at sixteen, is not the same, though it agrees in all other circumstances, as at forty, but swells and doubles from that circumstance of our ages, wherein, besides the constant and inexcusable habit of transgressing, the maturity of our judgement cuts off pretence unto excuse or pardon: every sin the oftner it is committed, the more it acquireth in the quality of evil; as it succeeds in time, so it proceeds in degrees of badness; for as they proceed they ever multiply, and like figures in Arithmetick, the last stands for more than all that went before it. And though I think no man can live well once, but he that could live twice, yet for my own part I would not live over my hours past, or begin again the thred of my days: * not upon *Cicero*'s ground, because I have lived them well, but for fear I should live

live them worſe:] I find my growing Judgment daily inſtruct me how to be better, but my untamed affections and confirmed vitioſity makes me daily do worſe; I find in my confirmed age the ſame ſins I diſcovered in my youth; I committed many then becauſe I was a Child, and becauſe I commit them ſtill, I am yet an infant. Therefore I perceive a man may be twice a Child before the days of dotage, ‖ and ſtand in need of *Æſons* bath before threeſcore.]

Sect. 43. And truely there goes a great deal of providence to produce a mans life unto threeſcore; there is more required than an able temper for thoſe years; though the radical humour contain in it ſufficient oyl for ſeventy, yet I perceive in ſome it gives no light paſt thirty: men aſſign not all the cauſes of long life, that write whole Books thereof. They that found themſelves on the radical balſome, or vital ſulphur of the parts, determine not why *Abel* lived not ſo long as *Adam*. There is therefore a ſecret glome or bottome of our days; 'twas his wiſdom to determine

mine them, but his perpetual and waking providence that fulfils and accompliſheth them; wherein the ſpirits, our ſelves, and all the creatures of God in a ſecret and diſputed way do execute his will. Let them not therefore complain of immaturity that dye about thirty; they fall but like the whole World, whoſe ſolid and well-compoſed ſubſtance muſt not expect the duration and period of its conſtitution: when all things are compleated in it, its age is accompliſhed; and the laſt and general fever may as naturally deſtroy it before ſix thouſand, as me before forty; there is therefore ſome other hand that twines the thread of life than that of Nature: we are not onely ignorant in Antipathies and occult qualities; our ends are as obſcure as our beginnings; the line of our days is drawn by night, and the various effects therein by a penſil that is inviſible; wherein though we confeſs our ignorance, I am ſure we do not err if we ſay it is the hand of God.

I am much taken with two verſes *Sect.* 44.

of *Lucan*, since I have been able not onely as we do at School, to construe, but understand.

Victuroſque Dei celant ut vivere durent,
Felix eſſe mori.

We're all deluded, vainly ſearching ways
To make us happy by the length of days;
For cunningly to make's protract his breath,
The Gods conceal the happineſs of Death.

There be many excellent ſtrains in that Poet, wherewith his Stoical Genius hath liberally ſupplied him; and truely there are ſingular pieces in the Philoſophy of *Zeno*, and doctrine of the Stoicks, which I perceive, delivered in a Pulpit, pas for current Divinity: yet herein are they in extreams, that can allow a man to be his own *Aſſaſſine*, and ſo highly * extol the end and ſuicide of *Cato*:] this is indeed not to fear death, but yet to be afraid of life. It is a brave act of valour to contemn death; but where life is more terrible than deathd, it is then the trueſt valour to dare to live; and herein Religion hath taught us a noble

noble example: For all the valiant acts of *Curtius*, *Scevola*, or *Codrus*, do not parallel or match that one of *Job*; and sure there is no torture to the rack of a disease, nor any Ponyards in death it self, like those in the way or prologue to it. * *Emori nolo, sed me esse mortuum nihil curo*;] I would not dye, but care not to be dead. Were I of *Cæsar*'s Religion, I should be of his desires, and wish rather to go off at one blow, then to be sawed in pieces by the grating torture of a disease. Men that look no farther than their outsides, think health an appurtenance unto life, and quarrel with their constitutions for being sick; but I that have examined the parts of man, and know upon what tender filaments that Fabrick hangs, do wonder that we are not always so; and considering the thousand doors that lead to death, do thank my God that we can die but once. 'Tis not onely the mischief of diseases, and villany of poysons, that make an end of us; we vainly accuse the fury of Guns, and the new inventions of death; it

is in the power of every hand to destroy us, and we are beholding unto every one we meet, he doth not kill us. There is therefore but one comfort left, that though it be in the power of the weakest arm to take away life, it is not in the strongest to deprive us of death: God would not exempt himself from that, the misery of immortality in the flesh; he undertook not that was immortal. Certainly there is no happiness within this circle of flesh, nor is it in the Opticks of these eyes to behold felicity; the first day of our Jubilee is Death; the Devil hath therefore failed of his desires; we are happier with death than we should have been without it: there is no misery but in himself, where there is no end of misery; and so indeed in his own sense, the Stoick is in the right. He forgets that he can dye who complains of misery; we are in the power of no calamity while death is in our own.

Sect. 45. Now besides the literal and positive kind of death, there are others whereof Divines makes mention, and those

thoſe I think, not meerly Metaphorical, as mortification, dying unto ſin and the World; therefore, I ſay, every man hath a double Horoſcope, one of his humanity, his birth; another of his Chriſtianity, his baptiſm, and from this do I compute or calculate my Nativity; not reckoning thoſe *Horæ combuſtæ* and odd days, or eſteeming my ſelf any thing, before I was my Saviours, and inrolled in the Regiſter of Chriſt: Whoſoever enjoys not this life, I count him but an apparition, though he wear about him the ſenſible affections of fleſh. In theſe moral acceptions, the way to be immortal is to dye daily; nor can I think I have the true Theory of death, when I contemplate a skull, or behold a Skeleton with thoſe vulgar imaginations it caſts upon us; I have therefore inlarged that common *Memento mori*, into a more Chriſtian memorandum, *Memento quatuor Noviſſima*, thoſe four inevitable points of us all, Death, Judgement, Heaven and Hell. Neither did the contemplations of the Heathens reſt in their

graves, without further thought of *Rhadamanth* or some judicial proceeding after death, though in another way, and upon suggestion of their natural reasons. I cannot but marvail from what *Sibyl* or Oracle they stole the Prophesie of the worlds destruction by fire, or whence *Lucan* learned to say,

Communis mundo superest rogus, ossibus astra
Misturus. ——————

There yet remains to th' World one common Fire,
Wherein our bones with stars shall make one Pyre.

I believe the World grows near its end, yet is neither old nor decayed, nor shall ever perish upon the ruines of its own Principles. As the work of Creation was above nature, so its adversary annihilation; without which the World hath not its end, but its mutation. Now what force should be able to consume it thus far, without the breath of God, which is the truest consuming flame, my Philosophy cannot inform me. Some believe there went not a minute to the Worlds creation, nor shall there

there go to its destruction; those six days so punctually described, make not to them one moment, but rather seem to manifest the method and Idea of the great work of the intellect of God, than the manner how he proceeded in its operation. I cannot dream that there should be at the last day any such Judicial proceeding, or calling to the Bar, as indeed the Scripture seems to imply, and the literal Commentators do conceive: for unspeakable mysteries in the Scriptures are often delivered in a vulgar and illustrative way; and being written unto man, are delivered, not as they truely are, but as they may be understood; wherein notwithstanding the different interpretations according to different capacities may stand firm with our devotion, nor be any way prejudicial to each single edification.

Now to determine the day and year of this inevitable time, is not onely convincible and statute-madness, but also manifest impiety: *How shall we interpret *Elias* *Sect.* 46.

6000 years,] or imagine the ſecret communicated to a Rabbi, which God hath denyed unto his Angels? It had been an excellent Quære to have poſed the Devil of *Delphos*, and muſt needs have forced him to ſome ſtrange amphibology; it hath not onely mocked the predictions of ſundry Aſtrologers in Ages paſt, but the propheſies of many melancholy heads in theſe preſent, who neither underſtanding reaſonably things paſt or preſent, pretend a knowledge of things to come; heads ordained onely to manifeſt the incredible effects of melancholy, and to fulfil old prophecies, rather than be the authors of new. [In thoſe days there ſhall come Wars, and rumours of Wars,] to me ſeems no prophecy, but a conſtant truth, in all times verified ſince it was pronounced: There ſhall be ſigns in the Moon and Stars; how comes he then like a Thief in the night, when he gives an item of his coming? That common ſign drawn from the revelation of Antichriſt, is as obſcure as any; in our common compute he hath been come

In thoſe days there ſhall come lyars and falſe prophets.

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theſe many years; but for my own part to ſpeak freely, I am half of opinion that Anti-chriſt is the Philoſophers ſtone in Divinity; for the diſcovery and invention thereof, though there be preſcribed rules, and probable inductions, yet hath hardly any man attained the perfect diſcovery thereof. That general opinion that the World grows neer its end, hath poſſeſſed all ages paſt as neerly as ours; I am afraid that the Souls that now depart, cannot eſcape that lingring expoſtulation of the Saints under the Altar, *Quouſque Domine? How long, O Lord?* and groan in the expectation of that great Jubilee.

This is the day that muſt make *Sect.* 47. good that great attribute of God, his Juſtice; that muſt reconcile thoſe unanſwerable doubts that torment the wiſeſt underſtandings, and reduce thoſe ſeeming inequalities, and reſpective diſtributions in this world, to an equality and recompenſive Juſtice in the next. This is that one day, that ſhall include and comprehend all that went before it; wherein, as in the laſt ſcene, all the Actors muſt

muſt enter, to compleat and make up the Cataſtrophe of this great piece. This is the day whoſe memory hath onely power to make us honeſt in the dark, and to be vertuous without a witneſs. * *Ipſa ſui pretium virtus ſibi,*] that Vertue is her own reward, is but a cold principle, and not able to maintain our variable reſolutions in a conſtant and ſetled way of goodneſs. I have practiſed ‖ that honeſt artifice of *Seneca,*] and in my retired and ſolitary imaginations, to detain me from the ſoulneſs of vice, have fancied to my ſelf the preſence of my dear and worthieſt friends, before whom I ſhould loſe my head, rather then be vitious; yet herein I found that there was nought but moral honeſty, and this was not to be vertuous for his ſake who muſt reward us at the laſt. * I have tryed if I could reach that great reſolution of his, to be honeſt without a thought of Heaven or Hell;] and indeed I found upon a natural inclination, and inbred loyalty unto virtue, that I could ſerve her without a livery; yet not in that reſolved

reſolved and venerable way, but that the frailty of my nature, upon eaſie temptation, might be induced to forget her. The life therefore and ſpirit of all our actions, is the reſurrection, and a ſtable apprehenſion that our aſhes ſhall enjoy the fruit of our pious endeavours; without this, all Religion is a Fallacy, and thoſe impieties of *Lucian*, *Euripides*, and *Julian*, are no blaſphemies, but ſubtle verities, * and Atheiſts have been the onely Philoſophers.]

How ſhall the dead ariſe, is no queſtion of my Faith; to believe onely poſſibilities, is not Faith, but meer Philoſophy. Many things are true in Divinity, which are neither inducible by reaſon, nor confirmable by ſenſe; and many things in Philoſophy confirmable by ſenſe, yet not inducible by reaſon. Thus it is impoſſible by any ſolid or demonſtrative reaſons to perſwade a man to believe the converſion of the Needle to the North; though this be poſſible and true, and eaſily credible, upon a ſingle experiment unto the ſenſe. I believe that our eſtranged *Sect.* 48.

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and divided ashes shall unite again; that our separated dust after so many Pilgrimages and transformations into the parts of Minerals, Plants, Animals, Elements, shall at the Voice of God return into their primitive shapes, and joyn again to make up their primary and predestinate forms. As at the Creation there was a separation of that confused mass into its pieces; so at the destruction thereof there shall be a separation into its distinct individuals. As at the Creation of the World, all the distinct species that we behold, lay involved in one mass, till the fruitful Voice of God separated this united multitude into its several species: so at the last day, when those corrupted reliques shall be scattered in the Wilderness of forms, and seem to have forgot their proper habits, * God by a powerful Voice shall command them back into their proper shapes,] and call them out by their single individuals: Then shall appear the fertility of *Adam*, and the magick of that sperm that hath dilated into so many millions.

I have often beheld as a miracle, that artificial reſurrection and revification of *Mercury*, how being mortified into a thouſand ſhapes, it aſſumes again its own, and returns into its numerical ſelf. Let us ſpeak naturally, and like Philoſophers, the forms of alterable bodies in theſe ſenſible corruptions periſh not; nor as we imagine, wholly quit their manſions, but retire and contract themſelves into their ſecret and unacceſſible parts, where they may beſt protect themſelves from the action of their Antagoniſt. A plant or vegetable conſumed to aſhes, by a contemplative and ſchool-Philoſopher ſeems utterly deſtroyed, and the form to have taken his leave for ever: But to a ſenſible Artiſt the forms are not periſhed, but withdrawn into their incombuſtible part, where they lie ſecure from the action of that devouring element. This is made good by experience, which can from the Aſhes of a Plant revive the plant, and from its cinders recal it into its ſtalk and leaves again. What the Art of man can do in theſe

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inferiour pieces, what blaſphemy is it to affirm the finger of God cannot do in theſe more perfect and ſenſible ſtructures? This is that myſtical Philoſophy, from whence no true Scholar becomes an Atheiſt, but from the viſible effects of nature grows up a real Divine; and beholds not in a dream, as *Ezekiel*, but in an ocular and viſible object the types of his reſurrection.

Sect. 49. Now, the neceſſary Manſions of our reſtored ſelves, are thoſe two contrary and incompatible places we call Heaven and Hell; to define them, or ſtrictly to determine what and where theſe are, ſurpaſſeth my Divinity. That elegant Apoſtle which ſeemed to have a glimpſe of Heaven, hath left but a negative deſcription thereof; *which neither eye hath ſeen, nor ear hath heard, nor can enter into the heart of man:* he was tranſlated out of himſelf to behold it; but being returned into himſelf, could not expreſs it. St. *John*'s deſcription by Emerals, Chryſolites, and precious Stones, is too weak to expreſs the material Heaven we behold.

behold. Briefly therefore, where the Soul hath the full measure, and complement of happiness; where the boundless appetite of that spirit remains compleatly satisfied, that it can neither desire addition nor alteration, that I think is truly Heaven: and this can onely be in the injoyment of that essence, whose infinite goodness is able to terminate the desires of it self, and the unsatiable wishes of ours; wherever God will thus manifest himself, there is Heaven though within the circle of this sensible world. Thus the Soul of man may be in Heaven any where, even within the limits of his own proper body; and when it ceaseth to live in the body, it may remain in its own soul, that is, its Creator. And thus we may say that St. *Paul*, whether in the body, or out of the body, was yet in Heaven. To place it in the Empyreal, or beyond the tenth sphear, is to forget the worlds destruction; for when this sensible world shall be destroyed, all shall then be here as it is now there, an Empyreal Heaven, a *quasi* vacuity; when to ask where

where Heaven is, is to demand where the Presence of God is, or where we have the glory of that happy vision. *Moses* that was bred up in all the learning of the *Egyptians*, committed a gross absurdity in Philosophy, when with these eyes of flesh he desired to see God, and petitioned his Maker, that is truth it self, to a contradiction. Those that imagine Heaven and Hell neighbours, and conceive a vicinity between those two extreams, upon consequence of the Parable, where *Dives* discoursed with *Lazarus* in *Abraham's* bosome, do too grosly conceive of those glorified creatures, whose eyes shall easily out-see the Sun, and behold without a perspective the extreamest distances? for if there shall be in our glorified eyes, the faculty of sight and reception of objects, I could think the visible species there to be in as unlimitable a way as now the intellectual. I grant that two bodies placed beyond the tenth sphear, or in a vacuity, according to *Aristotle's* Philosophy, could not behold each other, because there wants a body

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or Medium to hand and transport the visible rays of the object unto the sense; but when there shall be a general defect of either Medium to convey, or light to prepare and dispose that Medium, and yet a perfect vision, we must suspend the rules of our Philosophy, and make all good by a more absolute piece of opticks.

I cannot tell how to say that fire is the essence of Hell; I know not what to make of Purgatory, * or conceive a flame that can either prey upon, or purifie the substance of a Soul:] those flames of sulphur mention'd in the Scriptures, I take not to be understood of this present Hell, but of that to come, where fire shall make up the complement of our tortures, and have a body or subject wherein to manifest its tyranny. Some who have had the honour to be textuary in Divinity, are of opinion it shall be the same specifical fire with ours. This is hard to conceive, yet can I make good how even that may prey upon our bodies, and yet not consume us: for

in this material World, there are bodies that perſiſt invincible in the powerfulleſt flames; and though by the action of fire they fall into ignition and liquation, yet will they never ſuffer a deſtruction. I would gladly know how *Moſes* with an actual fire calcin'd, or burnt the Golden Calf unto powder: for that myſtical metal of Gold, whoſe ſolary and celeſtial nature I admire, expoſed unto the violence of fire, grows onely hot and liquifies, but conſumeth not: ſo when the conſumable and volatile pieces of our bodies ſhall be refined into a more impregnable and fixed temper, like Gold, though they ſuffer from the actions of flames, they ſhall never periſh, but lye immortal in the arms of fire. And ſurely if this frame muſt ſuffer onely by the action of this element, there will many bodies eſcape, and not onely Heaven, but Earth will not be at an end, but rather a beginning. For at preſent it is not earth, but a compoſition of fire, water, earth, and air; but at that time, ſpoiled of theſe ingredients, it ſhall appear

pear in a ſubſtance more like it ſelf, its aſhes. Philoſophers that opinioned the worlds deſtruction by fire, did never dream of annihilation, which is beyond the power of ſublunary cauſes; for the laſt action of that element is but vitrification, or a reduction of a body into glaſs; and therefore ſome of our Chymicks facetiouſly affirm, that at the laſt fire all ſhall be chriſtallized and reverberated into glaſs, which is the utmoſt action of that element. Nor need we fear this term [annihilation] or wonder that God will deſtroy the works of his Creation: for man ſubſiſting, who is, and will then truely appear a Microcoſm, the world cannot be ſaid to be deſtroyed. For the eyes of God, and perhaps alſo of our glorified ſelves, ſhall as really behold and contemplate the World in its Epitome or contracted eſſence, as now it doth at large and in its dilated ſubſtance. in the ſeed of a Plant, to the eyes of God, and to the underſtanding of man, there exiſts, though in an inviſible way, the perfect leaves, flowers

and fruit thereof: (for things that are in *posse* to the sense, are actually existent to the understanding.) Thus God beholds all things, who contemplates as fully his works in their Epitome, as in their full volume; and beheld as amply the whole world in that little compendium of the sixth day, as in the scattered and dilated pieces of those five before.

Sect. 51. Men commonly set forth the torments of Hell by fire, and the extremity of corporal afflictions, and describe Hell in the same method that *Mahomet* doth Heaven. This indeed makes a noise, and drums in popular ears: but if this be the terrible piece thereof, it is not worthy to stand in diameter with Heaven, whose happiness consists in that part that is best able to comprehend it, that immortal essence, that translated divinity and colony of God, the Soul. Surely though we place Hell under Earth, the Devil's walk and purlue is about it: men speak too popularly who place it in those flaming mountains, which to grosser apprehensions represent Hell. The heart

heart of man is the place the Devils dwell in; I feel sometimes a Hell within my self; *Lucifer* keeps his Court in my breast; *Legion* is revived in me: * There are as many Hells, as *Anaxagoras* conceited worlds:] there was more than one Hell in *Magdalene*, when there were seven Devils; for every Devil is an Hell unto himself; he holds enough of torture in his own *ubi*, and needs not the misery of circumference to afflict him. And thus a distracted Conscience here, is a shadow or introduction unto Hell hereafter. Who can but pity the merciful intention of those hands that do destroy themselves? the Devil, were it in his power, would do the like; which being impossible, his miseries are endless, and he suffers most in that attribute wherein he is impassible, his immortality.

I thank God that with joy I mention it, I was never afraid of Hell, nor never grew pale at the description of that place; I have so fixed my contemplations on Heaven, that I have almost forgot the Idea of Hell, and am afraid rather to lose the Joys *Sect.* 52.

of the one, than endure the misery of the other; to be deprived of them, is a perfect Hell, and needs methinks no addition to compleat our afflictions; that terrible term hath never detained me from sin, nor do I owe any good action to the name thereof: I fear God, yet am not afraid of him; his Mercies make me ashamed of my sins, before his Judgements afraid thereof: these are the forced and secondary method of his wisdom, which he useth but as the last remedy, and upon provocation; a course rather to deter the wicked, than incite the virtuous to his worship. I can hardly think there was ever any scared into Heaven; they go the fairest way to Heaven, that would serve God without a Hell; other Mercenaries, that crouch unto him in fear of Hell, though they term themselves the servants, are indeed but the slaves of the Almighty.

Sect. 53. And to be true, and speak my soul, when I survey the occurrences of my life, and call into account the Finger of God, I can perceive nothing but an abyss and mass of mercies, either

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in general to mankind, or in particular to my ſelf: and whether out of the prejudice of my affection, or an inverting and partial conceit of his mercies, I know not; but thoſe which others term croſſes, afflictions, judgements, misfortunes, to me who inquire farther into them then their viſible effects, they both appear, and in event have ever proved the ſecret and diſſembled favours of his affection. It is a ſingular piece of Wiſdom to apprehend truly, and without paſſion, the Works of God; and ſo well to diſtinguiſh his Juſtice from his Mercy, as not miſcall thoſe noble Attributes: yet it is likewiſe an honeſt piece of Logick, ſo to diſpute and argue the proceedings of God, as to diſtinguiſh even his judgments into mercies. For God is merciful unto all, becauſe better to the worſt, than the beſt deſerve; and to ſay he puniſheth none in this World, though it be a Paradox, is no abſurdity. To one that hath committed Murther, if the Judge ſhould only ordain a Fine, it were a madneſs to call this a puniſhment, and to repine at the ſentence,

rather than admire the clemency of the Judge. Thus our offences being mortal, and deſerving not onely Death, but Damnation; if the goodneſs of God be content to traverſe and paſs them over with a loſs, misfortune, or diſeaſe; what frenſie were it to term this a puniſhment, rather than an extremity of mercy; and to groan under the rod of his Judgements, rather than admire the Scepter of his Mercies? Therefore to adore, honour, and admire him, is a debt of gratitude due from the obligation of our nature, ſtates, and conditions; and with theſe thoughts, he that knows them beſt, will not deny that I adore him. That I obtain Heaven, and the bliſs thereof, is accidental, and not the intended work of my devotion; it being a felicity I can neither think to deſerve, nor ſcarce in modeſty to expect. For thoſe two ends of us all, either as rewards or puniſhments, are mercifully ordained and diſproportionably diſpoſed unto our actions; the one being ſo far beyond our deſerts, the other ſo infinitely

infinitely below our demerits.

There is no Salvation to those that believe not in Christ, that is, say some, since his Nativity, and as Divinity affirmeth, before also; which makes me much apprehend the ends of those honest Worthies and Philosophers which dyed before his Incarnation. * It is hard to place those Souls in Hell] whose worthy lives do teach us Virtue on Earth: methinks amongst those many subdivisions of Hell, there might have been one Limbo left for these. What a strange vision will it be to see their Poetical fictions converted into Verities, and their imagined and fancied Furies, into real Devils? how strange to them will sound the History of *Adam*, when they shall suffer for him they never heard of? when they who derive their genealogy from the Gods, shall know they are the unhappy issue of sinful man? It is an insolent part of reason, to controvert the Works of God, or question the Justice of his proceedings. Could Humility teach others, as it hath instructed me, to contemplate the *Sect.* 54.

the infinite and incomprehensible distance betwixt the Creator and the Creature; or did we seriously perpend that one simile of St. *Paul, Shall the Vessel say to the Potter, Why hast thou made me thus?* it would prevent these arrogant disputes of reason, nor would we argue the definitive sentence of God, either to Heaven or Hell. Men that live according to the right rule and law of reason, live but in their own kind, as beasts do in theirs; who justly obey the prescript of their natures, and therefore cannot reasonably demand a reward of their actions, as onely obeying the natural dictates of their reason. It will therefore, and must at last appear, that all salvation is through Christ; which verity I fear these great examples of virtue must confirm, and make it good, how the perfectest actions of earth have no title or claim unto Heaven.

Sect. 55. Nor truely do I think the lives of these or of any other were ever correspondent, or in all points conformable unto their doctrines. It is evident that * *Aristotle* transgressed the rule

rule of his own Ethicks:] the Stoicks that condemn passion, and command a man to laugh in *Phalaris* his Bull, could not endure without a groan a fit of the Stone or Colick. ‖ The *Scepticks* that affirmed they knew nothing,] even in that opinion confute themselves, and thought they knew more than all the World beside. *Diogenes* I hold to be the most vainglorious man of his time, and more ambitious in refusing all Honours, than *Alexander* in rejecting none. Vice and the Devil put a Fallacy upon our Reasons, and provoking us too hastily to run from it, entangle and profound us deeper in it. * The Duke of *Venice*, that weds himself unto the Sea, by a Ring of Gold] I will not argue of prodigality, because it is a solemnity of good use and consequence in the State: ‖ But the Philosopher that threw his money into the Sea to avoid Avarice, was a notorious prodigal.] There is no road or ready way to virtue; it is not an easie point of art to disentangle our selves from this riddle, or web of Sin: To perfect virtue, as to

Religion

Religion, there is required a *Panoplia*, or compleat armour; that whilſt we lye at cloſe ward againſt one Vice, we lye not open to the venny of another. And indeed wiſer diſcretions that have the thred of reaſon to conduct them, offend without pardon; whereas, under-heads may ſtumble without diſhonour. * There go ſo many circumſtances to piece up one good action, that it is a leſſon to be good, and we are forced to be virtuous by the book.] Again, the Practice of men holds not an equal pace, yea, and often runs counter to their Theory; we naturally know what is good, but naturally purſue what is evil: the Rhetorick wherewith I perſwade another, cannot perſwade my ſelf: there is a depraved appetite in us, that will with patience hear the learned inſtructions of Reaſon, but yet perform no farther than agrees to its own irregular humour. In brief, we all are monſters, that is, a compoſition of Man and Beaſt; wherein we muſt endeavour to be as the Poets fancy that wiſe man *Chiron*, that is,

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to have the Region of Man above that of Beast, and Sense to sit but at the feet of Reason. Lastly, I do desire with God, that all, but yet affirm with men, that few shall know Salvation; that the bridge is narrow, the passage straight unto life: yet those who do confine the Church of God, either to particular Nations, Churches or Families, have made it far narrower then our Saviour ever meant it.

Sect. 56. * The vulgarity of those judgements that wrap the Church of God in *Strabo*'s cloak, and restrain it unto *Europe*, seem to me as bad Geographers as *Alexander*, who thought he had Conquer'd all the World, when he had not subdued the half of any part thereof. For we cannot deny the Church of God both in *Asia* and *Africa*, if we do not forget the Peregrinations of the Apostles, the deaths of the Martyrs, the Sessions of many, and, even in our reformed judgement, lawful Councils, held in those parts in the minority and nonage of ours. Nor must a few differences, more remarkable in the eyes

eyes of man, than perhaps in the judgement of God, excommunicate from Heaven one another, much leſs thoſe Chriſtians who are in a manner all Martyrs, maintaining their Faith, in the noble way of perſecution, and ſerving God in the Fire, whereas we honour him in the Sunſhine. 'Tis true, we all hold there is a number of Elect, and many to be ſaved; yet take our Opinions together, and from the confuſion thereof there will be no ſuch thing as ſalvation, nor ſhall any one be ſaved. For firſt, the Church of *Rome* condemneth us, we likewiſe them; the Sub-reformiſts and Sectaries ſentence the Doctrine of our Church as damnable; the Atomiſt, or Familiſt, reprobates all theſe; and all theſe, them again. Thus whilſt the Mercies of God do promiſe us Heaven, our conceits and opinions exclude us from that place. There muſt be therefore more than one St. *Peter*; particular Churches and Sects uſurp the gates of Heaven, and turn the key againſt each other: and thus we go to Heaven againſt each others wills, conceits and opi-

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nions; and with as much uncharity as ignorance, do err I fear in points not only of our own, but one anothers salvation.

I believe many are saved, who to man seem reprobated; and many are reprobated, who in the opinion and sentence of man stand elected: there will appear at the Last day, strange and unexpected examples, both of his Justice and his Mercy; and therefore to define either, is folly in man, and insolency even in the Devils: those acute and subtil spirits in all their sagacity, can hardly divine who shall be saved; which if they could Prognostick, their labour were at an end; nor need they compass the earth seeking whom they may devour. * Those who upon a rigid application of the Law, sentence *Solomon* unto damnation,] condemn not onely him, but themselves, and the whole World; for by the Letter, and written Word of God, we are without exception in the state of Death; but there is a prerogative of God, and an arbitrary pleasure above the Letter of his own Law, by which alone

Sect. 57.

alone we can pretend unto Salvation, and through which *Solomon* might be as easily saved as those who condemn him.

Sect. 58. The number of those who pretend unto Salvation, and those infinite swarms who think to pass through the eye of this Needle, have much amazed me. That name and compellation of *little Flock*, doth not comfort, but deject my Devotion, especially when I reflect upon mine own unworthiness, wherein, according to my humble apprehensions, I am below them all. I believe there shall never be an Anarchy in Heaven, but as there are Hierarchies amongst the Angels, so shall there be degrees of priority amongst the Saints. Yet is it (I protest) beyond my ambition to aspire unto the first ranks; my desires onely are, and I shall be happy therein, to be but the last man, and bring up the Rere in Heaven.

Sect. 59. Again, I am confident, and fully perswaded, yet dare not take my oath of my Salvation: I am as it were sure, and do believe without all doubt,

doubt, that there is such a City as *Constantinople*; yet for me to take my Oath thereon, were a kind of Perjury, because I hold no infallible warrant from my own sense to confirm me in the certainty thereof: And truly, though many pretend an absolute certainty of their Salvation, yet when an humble Soul shall contemplate our own unworthiness, she shall meet with many doubts, and suddenly find how little we stand in need of the Precept of St. *Paul, Work out your salvation with fear and trembling.* That which is the cause of my Election, I hold to be the cause of my Salvation, which was the mercy and beneplacit of God, before I was, or the foundation of the World. *Before Abraham was, I am,* is the saying of Christ; yet is it true in some sense, if I say it of my self; for I was not onely before my self, but *Adam*, that is, in the Idea of God, and the decree of that Synod held from all Eternity. And in this sense, I say, the World was before the Creation, and at an end before it had a beginning; and thus was I dead

before I was alive; though my grave be *England*, my dying place was Paradise; and *Eve* miscarried of me, before she conceiv'd of *Cain*.

Sect. 60. Insolent zeals that do decry good Works, and rely onely upon Faith, take not away merit: for depending upon the efficacy of their Faith, they enforce the condition of God, and in a more sophistical way do seem to challenge Heaven. It was decreed by God, that only those that lapt in the water like Dogs, should have the honour to destroy the *Midianites*; yet could none of those justly challenge, or imagine he deserved that honour thereupon. I do not deny, but that true Faith, and such as God requires, is not onely a mark or token, but also a means of our Salvation; but where to find this, is as obscure to me, as my last end. And if our Saviour could object unto his own Disciples and Favourites, a Faith, that, to the quantity of a grain of Mustard-seed, is able to remove Mountains; surely that which we boast of, is not any thing, or at the most, but a remove from nothing.

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This is the Tenor of my belief; wherein, though there be many things singular, and to the humour of my irregular self; yet if they square not with maturer Judgements I disclaim them, and do no further favour them, than the learned and best judgements shall authorize them.

The Second Part.

NOw for that other Virtue of Charity, without which Faith is a meer notion, and of no existence, I have ever endeavoured to nourish the merciful disposition and humane inclination I borrowed from my Parents, and regulate it to the written and prescribed Laws of Charity; and if I hold the true Anatomy of my self, I am delineated and naturally framed to such a piece of virtue. For I am of a constitution so general, that it comforts and sympathizeth *Sect.* 1.

with all things; I have no antipathy, or rather Idio-ſyncraſie, in dyet, humour, air, any thing: *I wonder not at the *French* for their diſhes of Frogs, Snails,] and Toadſtools; nor at the Jews for Locuſts and Graſshoppers; but being amongſt them, make them my common Viands; and I find they agree with my Stomach as well as theirs. I could digeſt a Sallad gathered in a Church-yard, as well as in a Garden. I cannot ſtart at the preſence of a Serpent, Scorpion, Lizard, or Salamander: at the ſight of a Toad or Viper, I find in me no deſire to take up a ſtone to deſtroy them. I feel not in my ſelf thoſe common Antipathies that I can diſcover in others: Thoſe National repugnances do not touch me, nor do I behold with prejudice the *French*, *Italian*, *Spaniard* and *Dutch*; but where I find their actions in ballance with my Country-men's, I honour, love, and embrace them in ſome degree. I was born in the eighth Climate, but ſeem for to be framed and conſtellated unto all: I am no Plant that will not proſper out of a Garden

Garden: All places, all airs make unto me one Countrey; I am in *England*, every where, and under any Meridian. I have been ſhipwrackt, yet am not enemy with the Sea or Winds; I can ſtudy, play, or ſleep in a Tempeſt. In brief, I am averſe from nothing: my Conſcience would give me the lye if I ſhould abſolutely deteſt or hate any eſſence but the Devil; or ſo at leaſt abhor any thing, but that we might come to compoſition. If there be any among thoſe common objects of hatred I do contemn and laugh at, it is that great enemy of Reaſon, Virtue and Religion, the Multitude; that numerous piece of monſtroſity, which taken aſunder ſeem men, and the reaſonable creatures of God; but confuſed together, make but one great beaſt, and a monſtroſity more prodigious then Hydra: it is no breach of Charity to call theſe Fools; it is the ſtyle all holy Writers have afforded them, ſet down by *Solomon* in Canonical Scripture, and a point of our Faith to believe ſo. Neither in the name of Multitude do I onely

include the baſe and minor ſort of people; there is a rabble even amongſt the Gentry, a ſort of Plebeian heads, whoſe fancy moves with the ſame wheel as theſe; men in the ſame Level with Mechanicks, though their fortunes do ſomewhat guild their infirmities, and their purſes compound for their follies. But as in caſting account, three or four men together come ſhort in account of one man placed by himſelf below them: So neither are a troop of theſe ignorant Doradoes, of that true eſteem and value, as many a forlorn perſon, whoſe condition doth place them below their feet. Let us ſpeak like Politicians, there is a Nobility without Heraldry, a natural dignity, whereby one man is ranked with another; another filed before him, according to the quality of his Deſert, and preheminence of his good parts: Though the corruption of theſe times, and the byas of preſent practice wheel another way. Thus it was in the firſt and primitive Common-wealths, and is yet in the integrity and Cradle of well-order'd

Polities,

Polities, till corruption getteth ground, ruder desires labouring after that which wiser considerations contemn; every one having a liberty to amass and heap up riches, and they a license or faculty to do or purchase any thing.

This general and indifferent temper of mine, doth more neerly *Sect. 2.* dispose me to this noble virtue. It is a happiness to be born and framed unto virtue, and to grow up from the seeds of nature. rather than the inoculation and forced graffs of education: yet if we are directed only by our particular Natures, and regulate our inclinations by no higher rule than that of our reasons, we are but Moralists; Divinity will still call us Heathens, Therefore this great work of charity, must have other motives, ends, and impulsions: I give no alms only to satisfie the hunger of my Brother, but to fulfil and accomplish the Will and Command of my God; I draw not my purse for his sake that demands it, but his that enjoyned it; I relieve no man upon the Rhetorick of his

miseries, nor to content mine own commiserating disposition: for this is still but moral charity, and an act that oweth more to passion than reason. He that relieves another upon the bare suggestion and bowels of pity, doth not this so much for his sake, as for his own: for by compassion we make others misery our own; and so by relieving them, we relieve our selves also. It is as erroneous a conceit to redress other Mens misfortunes upon the common considerations of merciful natures, that it may be one day our own case; for this is a sinister and politick kind of charity, whereby we seem to bespeak the pities of men in the like occasions: and truly I have observed that those professed Eleemosynaries, though in a croud or multitude, do yet direct and place their petitions on a few and selected persons: there is surely a Physiognomy, which those experienced and Master-Mendicants observe; whereby they instantly discover a merciful aspect, and will single out a face, wherein they spy the signatures and marks

marks of Mercy: for there are mystically in our faces certain Characters which carry in them the motto of our Souls, wherein he that can read *A.B.C.* may read our natures. I hold moreover that there is a Phytognomy, or Physiognomy, not only of Men; but of Plants and Vegetables; and in every one of them, some outward figures which hang as signs or bushes of their inward forms. The Finger of God hath left an Inscription upon all his works, not graphical, or composed of Letters, but of their several forms, constitutions, parts, and operations; which aptly joyned together do make one word that doth express their natures. By these Letters God calls the Stars by their names; and by this Alphabet *Adam* assigned to every creature a name peculiar to its Nature. Now there are besides these Characters in our Faces, certain mystical figures in our Hands, which I dare not call meer dashes, strokes, *a la volee*, or at random, because delineated by a Pencil that never works in vain; and hereof I take more particular notice, because

cauſe I carry that in mine own hand, which I could never read of, nor diſcover in another. *Ariſtotle* I confeſs, in his acute, and ſingular Book of Phyſiognomy, hath made no mention of Chiromancy; yet I believe the *Egyptians*, who were neerer addicted to thoſe abſtruſe and myſtical ſciences, had a knowledge therein; to which thoſe vagabond and counterfeit *Egyptians* did after pretend, and perhaps retained a few corrupted principles, which ſometimes might verifie their prognoſticks.

It is the common wonder of all men, *how among ſo many millions of faces, there ſhould be none alike: Now contrary, I wonder as much how there ſhould be any. He that ſhall conſider how many thouſand ſeveral words have been careleſly and without ſtudy compoſed out of 24 Letters; withal, how many hundred lines there are to be drawn in the Fabrick of one Man; ſhall eaſily find that this variety is neceſſary: And it will be very hard that they ſhall ſo concur, as to make one portract like another. Let a Painter

care-

carelesly limb out a million of Faces, and you shall find them all different; yea let him have his Copy before him, yet after all his art there will remain a sensible distinction; for the pattern or example of every thing is the perfectest in that kind, whereof we still come short, though we transcend or go beyond it, because herein it is wide, and agrees not in all points unto the Copy. Nor doth the similitude of Creatures disparage the variety of Nature, nor any way confound the Works of God. For even in things alike there is diversity; and those that do seem to accord, do manifestly disagree. And thus is man like God; for in the same things that we resemble him, we are utterly different from him. There was never any thing so like another, as in all points to concur; there will ever some reserved difference slip in, to prevent the identity, without which, two several things would not be alike, but the same, which is impossible.

But to return from Philosophy to Charity: I hold not so narrow a conceit *Sect.* 3.

ceit

ceit of this virtue, as to conceive that to give Alms, is onely to be Charitable, or think a piece of Liberality can comprehend the Total of Charity. Divinity hath wisely divided the acts thereof into many branches, and hath taught us in this narrow way, many paths unto goodness as many ways as we may do good, so many ways we may be charitable: there are infirmities, not onely of Body, but of Soul and Fortunes, which do require the merciful hand of our abilities. I cannot contemn a man for ignorance, but behold him with as much pity as I do *Lazarus*. It is no greater Charity to cloath his body, than apparel the nakedness of his Soul. It is an honourable object to see the reasons of other men wear our Liveries, and their borrowed understandings do homage to the bounty of ours: It is the cheapest way of beneficence, and like the natural charity of the Sun, illuminates another without obscuring it self. To be reserved and caitiff in this part of goodness, is the sordidest piece of covetousness, and more con-

contemptible than pecuniary Avarice. To this (as calling my self a Scholar) I am obliged by the duty of my condition: I make not therefore my head a grave, but a treasure of knowledge; I intend no Monopoly, but a community in learning; I study not for my own sake only, but for theirs that study not for themselves. I envy no man that knows more than my self, but pity them that know less. I instruct no man as an exercise of my knowledge, or with an intent rather to nourish and keep it alive in mine own head, then beget and propagate it in his; and in the midst of all my endeavours, there is but one thought that dejects me, that my acquired parts must perish with my self, nor can be Legacied among my honoured Friends. I cannot fall out, or contemn a man for an errour, or conceive why a difference in Opinion should divide an affection: For Controversies, Disputes, and Argumentations, both in Philosophy, and in Divinity, if they meet with discreet and peaceable natures, do not infringe

infringe the Laws of Charity: in all disputes, so much as there is of passion, so much there is of nothing to the purpose; for then Reason, like a bad Hound, spends upon a false Scent, and forsakes the question first started. And this is one reason why Controversies are never determined; for though they be amply proposed, they are scarce at all handled, they do so swell with unnecessary Digressions; and the Parenthesis on the party, is often as large as the main discourse upon the subject. The Foundations of Religion are already established, and the Principles of Salvation subscribed unto by all; there remains not many controversies worth a Passion, and yet never any disputed without, not only in Divinity, but inferiour Arts: * What a βατραχομυομαχία and hot skirmish is betwixt *S.* and *T.* in *Lucian*:] How do Grammarians hack and slash for the Genitive case in *Jupiter*? How do they break their own pates, to salve that of *Priscian*: *Si foret in terris, rideret Democritus*: Yea, even amongst wiser militants, how many wounds

wounds have been given, and credits slain, for the poor victory of an opinion, or beggerly conquest of a distinction? Scholars are men of Peace, they bear no Arms, but their tongues are sharper than *Actus* his razor; their Pens carry farther, and give a lowder report than Thunder: I had rather stand the shock of a Basiliſco, than the fury of a mercileſs Pen. It is not meer Zeal to Learning, or Devotion to the Muſes, that wiſer Princes Patron the Arts, and carry an indulgent aſpect unto Scholars; but a deſire to have their names eternized by the memory of their writings, and a fear of the revengeful Pen of ſucceeding ages: for theſe are the men, that when they have played their parts, and had their *exits*, muſt ſtep out and give the moral of their Scenes, and deliver unto Poſterity an Inventory of their Virtues and Vices. And ſurely there goes a great deal of Conſcience to the compiling of an Hiſtory: there is no reproach to the ſcandal of a Story; it is ſuch an authentick kind of falſhood, that with authority belies our good names

names to all Nations and Posterity.

Sect. 4. There is another offence unto Charity, which no Author hath ever written of, and few take notice of; and that's the reproach, not of whole professions, mysteries and conditions, but of whole Nations; wherein by opprobrious Epithets we miscal each other, and by an uncharitable Logick, from a disposition in a few, conclude a habit in all.

Le mutin Anglois, & le bravache Escossois;
Le bougre Italian, & le fol Francois;
Le Poultron Romani, le larron de Gasnongne,
L' Espagnol superbe, & l' Aleman yurongne.

* St. *Paul*, that calls the *Cretians* lyars, doth it but indirectly, and upon quotation of their own Poet.] || It is as bloody a thought in one way, as *Nero's* was in another. For by a word we wound a thousand,] and at one blow assassine the honour of a Nation. It is as compleat a piece of madness to miscal and rave against the times; or think to recal men to reason, by a fit of passion: *Democritus*, that thought to laugh the times into goodness, seems to me

as

as deeply Hypochondriack, as *Heraclitus* that bewailed them. It moves not my ſpleen to behold the multitude in their proper humours, that is, in their fits of folly and madneſs, as well underſtanding that wiſdom is not prophan'd unto the World, and 'tis the priviledge of a few to be Vertuous. They that endeavour to aboliſh Vice, deſtroy alſo Virtue, for contraries, though they deſtroy one another; are yet in life of one another. Thus Virtue (aboliſh vice) is an Idea: again, the community of ſin doth not diſparage goodneſs; for when Vice gains upon the major part, Virtue, in whom it remains, becomes more excellent; and being loſt in ſome, multiplies its goodneſs in others, which remain untouched, and perſiſt intire in the general inundation. I can therefore behold Vice without a Satyr, content only with an admonition, or inſtructive reprehenſion, for Noble Natures, and ſuch as are capable of goodneſs, are railed into vice, that might as eaſily be admoniſhed into virtue; and we ſhould be all ſo far the Ora-

tors of goodneſs, as to protract her from the power of Vice, and maintain the cauſe of injured truth. No man can juſtly cenſure or condemn another, becauſe indeed no man truly knows another. This I perceive in my ſelf; for I am in the dark to all the world, and my neareſt friends behold me but in a cloud: thoſe that know me but ſuperficially, think leſs of me than I do of my ſelf; thoſe of my neer acquaintance think more: God, who truly knows me, knows that I am nothing; for he only beholds me, and all the world; who looks not on us through a derived ray, or a trajection of a ſenſible ſpecies, but beholds the ſubſtance without the helps of accidents, and the forms of things, as we their operations. Further, no man can judge another, becauſe no man knows himſelf; for we cenſure others but as they diſagree from that humour which we fancy laudible in our ſelves, and commend others but for that wherein they ſeem to quadrate and conſent with us. So that in concluſion, all is but that we all

condemn,

condem, Self-love. 'Tis the general complaint of these times, and perhaps of those past, that charity grows cold; which I perceive most verified in those which most do manifest the fires and flames of zeal; for it is a virtue that best agrees with coldest natures, and such as are complexioned for humility. But how shall we expect Charity towards others, when we are uncharitable to our selves? Charity begins at home, is the voice of the World; yet is every man his greatest enemy, and as it were, his own Executioner. *Non occides*, is the Commandment of God, yet scarce observed by any man; for I perceive every man is his own *Atropos*, and lends a hand to cut the thred of his own days. *Cain* was not therefore the first Murtherer, but *Adam*, who brought in death; whereof he beheld the practice and example in his own son *Abel*, and saw that verified in the experience of another, which faith could not perswade him in the Theory of himself.

There is, I think, no man that apprehends *Sect.* 5.

prehends his own miseries less than my self, and no man that so neerly apprehends anothers. I could lose an arm without a tear, and with few groans, methinks, be quartered into pieces; yet can I weep most seriously at a Play, and receive with true passion, the counterfeit grief of those known and professed Impostures. It is a barbarous part of inhumanity to add unto any afflicted parties misery, or indeavour to multiply in any man, a passion, whose single nature is already above his patience: this was the greatest affliction of *Job*; and those oblique expostulations of his Friends, a deeper injury than the down-right blows of the Devil. It is not the tears of our own eyes only, but of our friends also, that do exhaust the current of our sorrows; which falling into many streams, runs more peaceably, and is contented with a narrower channel. It is an act within the power of charity, to translate a passion out of one breast into another, and to divide a sorrow almost out of it self; for an affliction, like a dimen-

dimenſion, may be ſo divided, as if not indiviſible, at leaſt to become inſenſible. Now with my friend I deſire not to ſhare or participate, but to engroſs his ſorrows, that by making them mine own, I may more eaſily diſcuſs them; for in mine own reaſon, and within my ſelf, I can command that, which I cannot intreat without my ſelf, and within the circle of another. I have often thought thoſe noble pairs and examples of friendſhip not ſo truly Hiſtories of what had been, as fictions of what ſhould be; but I now perceive nothing in them but poſſibilities, nor any thing in the Heroick examples of *Damon* and *Pythias*, *Achilles* and *Patroclus*, which methinks upon ſome grounds I could not perform within the narrow compaſs of my ſelf. That a man ſhould lay down his life for his Friend, ſeems ſtrange to vulgar affections, and ſuch as confine themſelves within that Worldly principle, Charity begins at home. For my own part, I could never remember the relations that I held unto my ſelf, nor the reſpect

that I owe unto my own nature, in the cause of God, my Country, and my Friends. Next to these three I do embrace my self: I confess I do not observe that order that the Schools ordain our affections, to love our Parents, Wives, Children, and then our Friends; for excepting the injunctions of Religion, I do not find in my self such a necessary and indissoluble Sympathy to all those of my blood. I hope I do not break the fifth Commandment, if I conceive I may love my friend before the nearest of my blood, even those to whom I owe the principles of life: I never yet cast a true affection on a woman, but I have loved my friend as I do virtue, my soul, my God. From hence me thinks I do conceive how God loves man, what happiness there is in the love of God. Omitting all other, there are three most mystical unions; two natures in one person; three persons in one nature; one soul in two bodies. For though indeed they be really divided, yet are they so united, as they seem but one, and make rather a

duality

duality than two distinct souls.

There are wonders in true affection; it is a body of *Enigma's*, mysteries and riddles; wherein two so become one, as they both become two: I love my friend before my self, and yet methinks I do not love him enough: some few months hence, my multiplied affection will make me believe I have not loved him at all: when I am from him, I am dead till I be with him; when I am with him, I am not satisfied, but would still be nearer him. United souls are not satisfied with imbraces, but desire to be truly each other; which being impossible, their desires are infinite, and proceed without a possibility of satisfaction. Another misery there is in affection, that whom we truly love like our own, we forget their looks, nor can our memory retain the Idea of their faces; and it is no wonder: for they are our selves, and our affection makes their looks our own. This noble affection falls not on vulgar and common constitutions, but on such as are mark'd for virtue: he *Sect.* 6.

that can love his friend with this noble ardour, will in a competent degree effect all. Now if we can bring our affections to look beyond the body, and cast an eye upon the soul, we have found out the true object, not only of friendship, but Charity; and the greatest happiness that we can bequeath the soul, is that wherein we all do place our last felicity, Salvation; which though it be not in our power to bestow, it is in our charity, and pious invocations to desire, if not procure and further. I cannot contentedly frame a prayer for my self in particular, without a catalogue for my friends; nor request a happiness wherein my sociable disposition doth not desire the fellowship of my neighbour. I never hear the Toll of a passing Bell, though in my mirth, without my prayers and best wishes for the departing spirit: I cannot go to cure the body of my patient, but I forget my profession, and call unto God for his soul: I cannot see one say his prayers, but in stead of imitating him, I fall into a supplication for

for him, who perhaps is no more to me than a common nature: and if God hath vouchsafed an ear to my supplications, there are surely many happy that never saw me, and enjoy the blessing of mine unknown devotions. To pray for Enemies, that is, for their salvation, is no harsh precept, but the practice of our daily and ordinary devotions. *I cannot believe the story of the Italian;] our bad wishes and uncharitable desires proceed no further than this life; it is the Devil, and the uncharitable votes of Hell, that desire our misery in the World to come.

To do no injury, nor take none, *Sect.* 7. was a principle, which to my former years, and impatient affections, seemed to contain enough of Morality; but my more setled years, and Christian constitution, have fallen upon severer resolutions. I can hold there is no such thing as injury; that if there be, there is no such injury as revenge, and no such revenge as the contempt of an injury; that to hate another, is to malign himself; that the truest way to love another, is to despise

deſpiſe our ſelves. I were unjuſt unto mine own Conſcience, if I ſhould ſay I am at variance with any thing like my ſelf. I find there are many pieces in this one fabrick of man; this frame is raiſed upon a maſs of Antipathies: I am one methinks, but as the World; wherein notwithſtanding there are a ſwarm of diſtinct eſſences, and in them another World of contrarieties; we carry private and domeſtick enemies within, publick and more hoſtile adverſaries without. The Devil, that did but buffet St. *Paul*, plays methinks at ſharp with me. Let me be nothing, if within the compaſs of my ſelf, I do not find the battail of *Lepanto*, Paſſion againſt Reaſon, Reaſon againſt Faith, Faith againſt the Devil, and my Conſcience againſt all. There is another man within me, that's angry with me, rebukes, commands, and daſtards me. I have no Conſcience of Marble, to reſiſt the hammer of more heavy offences; nor yet too ſoft and waxen, as to take the impreſſion of each ſingle peccadillo or ſcape of infirmity: I

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am of a ſtrange belief, that it is as eaſie to be forgiven ſome ſins, as to commit ſome others. For my Original ſin, I hold it to be waſhed away in my Baptiſm; for my actual tranſgreſſions, I compute and reckon with God, but from my laſt repentance, Sacrament, or general abſolution; and therefore am not terrified with the ſins or madneſs of my youth. I thank the goodneſs of God, *I have no ſins that want a name,] I am not ſingular in offences; my tranſgreſſions are Epidemical, and from the common breath of our corruption. For there are certain tempers of body, which matcht with an humorous depravity of mind, do hatch and produce vitioſities, whoſe newneſs and monſtroſity of nature admits no name; ‖ this was the temper of that Lecher that carnal'd with a Statua,] * and conſtitution of *Nero* in his Spintrian recreations.] For the Heavens are not only fruitful in new and unheard-of ſtars, the Earth in plants and animals; but mens minds alſo in villany and vices: now the dulneſs of my reaſon, and

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the vulgarity of my disposition, never prompted my invention, nor sollicited my affection unto any of those; yet even those common and quotidian infirmities that so necessarily attend me, and do seem to be my very nature, have so dejected me, so broken the estimation that I should have otherwise of my self, that I repute my self the most abjectest piece of mortality. Divines prescribe a fit of sorrow to repentance; there goes indignation, anger, sorrow, hatred, into mine; passions of a contrary nature, which neither seem to suite with this action, nor my proper constitution. It is no breach of charity to our selves, to be at variance with our Vices; nor to abhor that part of us, which is an enemy to the ground of charity, our God; wherein we do but imitate our great selves the world, whose divided Antipathies and contrary faces do yet carry a charitable regard unto the whole by their particular discords, preserving the common harmony, and keeping in fetters those powers, whose rebellions once

once Masters, might be the ruine of all.

I thank God, amongst those millions of Vices I do inherit and hold from *Adam*, I have escaped one, and that a mortal enemy to Charity, the first and farther-sin, not onely of man, but of the devil, Pride; a vice whose name is comprehended in a Monosyllable, but in its nature not circumscribed with a World. I have escaped it in a condition that can hardly avoid it. Those petty acquisitions and reputed perfections that advance and elevate the conceits of other men, add no feathers unto mine. * I have seen a Grammarian towr and plume himself over a single line in *Horace*,] and shew more pride in the construction of one Ode, than the Author in the composure of the whole book. For my own part, besides the *Jargon* and *Patois* of several Provinces, I understand no less than six Languages; yet I protest I have no higher conceit of my self, than had our Fathers before the confusion of *Babel*, when there was but one Language in the World, *Sect.* 8.

World, and none to boast himself either Linguist or Critick. I have not onely seen several Countries, beheld the nature of their Climes, the Chorography of their Provinces, Topography of their Cities, but understood their several Laws, Customs and Policies; yet cannot all this perswade the dulness of my spirit unto such an opinion of my self, as I behold in nimbler and conceited heads, that never looked a degree beyond their Nests. I know the names, and somewhat more, of all the constellations in my Horizon; yet I have seen a prating Mariner, that could onely name the pointers and the North Star, out-talk me, and conceit himself a whole Sphere above me. I know most of the Plants of my Countrey, and of those about me; yet methinks I do not know so many as when I did but know a hundred, and had scarcely ever Simpled further than *Cheap-side*. For indeed, heads of capacity, and such as are not full with a handful, or easie measure of knowledge, think they know nothing, till they know all; which

which being impossible, they fall upon the opinion of *Socrates*, and only know they know not any thing. * I cannot think that *Homer* pin'd away upon the riddle of the fisherman,] or ‖ that *Aristotle*, who understood the uncertainty of knowledge, and confessed so often the reason of man too weak for the works of nature, did ever drown himself upon the flux and reflux of *Euripus*.] We do but learn to day, what our better advanced judgements will unteach to morrow: and ‖ *Aristotle* doth not instruct us, as *Plato* did him; that is, to confute himself.] I have run through all sorts, yet find no rest in any: though our first studies and *junior* endeavours may style us Peripateticks, Stoicks, or Academicks, yet I perceive the wisest heads prove, at last, almost all Scepticks, and stand like *Janus* in the field of knowledge. I have therefore one common and authentick Philosophy I learned in the Schools, whereby I discourse and satisfie the reason of other men; another more reserved, and drawn from experience, where-

whereby I content mine own. *Solomon*, that complained of ignorance in the height of knowledge, hath not only humbled my conceits, but discouraged my endeavours. There is yet another conceit that hath sometimes made me shut my books, which tells me it is a vanity to waste our days in the blind pursuit of knowledge; it is but attending a little longer, and we shall enjoy that by instinct and infusion, which we endeavour at here by labour and inquisition. It is better to sit down in a modest ignorance; and rest contented with the natural blessing of our own reasons, than buy the uncertain knowledge of this life, with sweat and vexation, which Death gives every fool *gratis*, and is an accessary of our glorification.

Sect. 9. I was never yet once, and commend their resolutions who never marry twice: not that I disallow of second marriage; as neither in all cases of Polygamy, which considering some times, and the unequal number of both sexes, may be also necessary. The whole World was made for man,

man, but the twelfth part of man for woman: Man is the whole World, and the Breath of God; Woman the Rib, and crooked piece of man. *I could be content that we might procreate like trees] without conjunction, or that there were any way to perpetuate the World without this trivial and vulgar way of coition; it is the fooliſheſt act a wiſe man commits in all his life, nor is there any thing that will more deject his cool'd imagination, when he ſhall conſider what an odd and unworthy piece of folly he hath committed. I ſpeak not in prejudice, nor am averſe from that ſweet Sex, but naturally amorous of all that is beautiful; I can look a whole day with delight upon a handſome Picture, though it be but of an Horſe. It is my temper, and I like it the better, to affect all harmony; and ſure there is muſick even in the beauty, and the ſilent note which *Cupid* ſtrikes, far ſweeter than the ſound of an inſtrument. For there is a muſick where ever there is a harmony, order or proportion;

and thus far we may maintain the muſick of the Sphears: for thoſe well-ordered motions, and regular paces, though they give no ſound unto the ear, yet to the underſtanding they ſtrike a note moſt full of harmony. Whoſoever is harmonically compoſed, delights in harmony; which makes me much diſtruſt the ſymmetry of thoſe heads which declaim againſt all Church-Muſick. For my ſelf, not only from my obedience, but my particular Genius, I do embrace it: for even that vulgar and Tavern-Muſick, which makes one man merry, another mad, ſtrikes in me a deep fit of devotion, and a profound contemplation of the firſt Compoſer. There is ſomething in it of Divinity more than the ear diſcovers: it is an Hieroglyphical and ſhadowed leſſon of the whole World, and creatures of God; ſuch a melody to the ear, as the whole World well underſtood, would afford the underſtanding. In brief, it is a ſenſible fit of that harmony, which intellectually ſounds in the ears of God

I will not say with *Plato*, the soul is in harmony, but harmonical, and hath its neareſt ſympathy unto Muſick: thus ſome whoſe temper of body agrees, and humours the conſtitution of their ſouls, are born Poets, though indeed all are naturally inclined unto Rhythme. ‖ This made *Tacitus* in the very firſt line of his Story, fall upon a verſe, and *Cicero* the worſt of Poets, but * declaiming for a Poet, falls in the very firſt ſentence upon a perfect ‖ Hexameter. I feel not in me thoſe ſordid and unchriſtian deſires of my profeſſion; I do not ſecretly implore and wiſh for Plagues; rejoyce at Famines, revolve Ephemerides and Almanacks, in expectation of malignant Aſpects, fatal Conjunctions and Eclipſes: I rejoyce not at unwholeſome Springs, nor unſeaſonable Winters; my Prayer goes with the Husbandman's; I deſire every thing in its proper ſeaſon, that neither men nor the times be put out of temper. Let me be ſick my ſelf, if ſometimes the malady of my pati-

† *Urbem Romam in principio Reges habuere.*

* *Pro Archia Poeta.*

† *In qua me non inficior mediocriter eſſe.*

ent be not a diſeaſe unto me; I deſire rather to cure his infirmities than my own neceſſities: where I do him no good, methinks it is ſcarce honeſt gain; though I confeſs 'tis but the worthy ſalary of our well-intended endeavours. I am not only aſhamed, but heartily ſorry, that beſides death, there are diſeaſes incurable; yet not for my own ſake, or that they be beyond my Art, but for the general cauſe and ſake of humanity, whoſe common cauſe I apprehend as mine own. And to ſpeak more generally, thoſe three Noble Profeſſions which all civil Common-wealths do honour, are raiſed upon the fall of *Adam*, and are not exempt from their infirmities; there are not only diſeaſes incurable in Phyſick, but caſes indiſſolvable in Laws, Vices incorrigible in Divinity: if general Councils may err, I do not ſee why particular Courts ſhould be infallible; their perfecteſt rules are raiſed upon the erroneous reaſons of Man; and the Laws of one, do but condemn the rules of another;

as

as *Ariſtotle* oft-times the opinions of his Predeceſſours, becauſe, though agreeable to reaſon, yet were not conſonant to his own rules, and Logick of his proper Principles. Again, to ſpeak nothing of the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, whoſe cure not onely, but whoſe nature is unknown; I can cure the Gout or Stone in ſome, ſooner than Divinity Pride or Avarice in others. I can cure Vices by Phyſick, when they remain incurable by Divinity; and ſhall obey my Pills, when they contemn their precepts. I boaſt nothing, but plainly ſay, we all labour againſt our own cure; for death is the cure of all diſeaſes. There is no Catholicon or univerſal remedy I know but this, which though nauſeous to queaſie ſtomacks, yet to prepared appetites is Nectar, and a pleaſant potion of immortality.

For my Converſation, it is like the Sun's, with all men, and with a friendly aſpect to good and bad. Methinks there is no man bad, and the worſt, beſt; that is, while they *Sect.* 10.

are kept within the circle of those qualities, wherein they are good; there is no mans mind of such discordant and jarring a temper, to which a tunable disposition may not strike a harmony. *Magnæ virtutes, nec minora vitia*; it is the posie of the best natures, [*and may be inverted on the worst;] there are in the most depraved and venemous dispositions, certain pieces that remain untoucht, which by an *Antiperistasis* become more excellent, or by the excellency of their antipathies are able to preserve themselves from the contagion of their enemy vices, and persist intire beyond the general corruption. For it is also thus in nature. The greatest Balsomes do lie enveloped in the bodies of most powerful Corrosives; I say moreover, and I ground upon experience, [*that poisons contain within themselves their own Antidote,] and that which preserves them from the venome of themselves, without which they were not deleterious to others onely, but to themselves also. But it

is

is the corruption that I fear within me, not the contagion of commerce without me. 'Tis that unruly regiment within me, that will destroy me; 'tis I that do infect my self, the man without a Navel yet lives in me; I feel that original canker corrode and devour me; and therefore *Defenda me Dios de me*, Lord deliver me from my self, is a part of my Letany, and the first voice of my retired imaginations. There is no man alone, because every man is a *Microcosm*, and carries the whole World about him; *Nunquam minus solus quàm cum solus*, though it be the Apothegme of a wise man, is yet true in the mouth of a fool; indeed, though in a Wilderness, a man is never alone, not only because he is with himself, and his own thoughts, but because he is with the Devil; who ever consorts with our solitude, and is that unruly rebel that musters up those disordered motions which accompany our sequestred imaginations. And to speak more narrowly, there is no

ſuch thing as ſolitude, nor any thing that can be ſaid to be alone, and by it ſelf, but God, who is his own circle, and can ſubſiſt by himſelf; all others, beſides their diſſimilary and Hetero-geneous parts, which in a manner multiply their natures, cannot ſubſiſt without the concourſe of God, and the ſociety of that hand which doth uphold their natures. In brief, there can be nothing truly alone, and by its ſelf, which is not truly one; and ſuch is only God: All others do tranſcend an unity, and ſo by conſe-quence are many.

Sect. 11. Now for my life, it is a miracle of thirty years, which to relate, were not a Hiſtory, but a piece of Poe-try, and would ſound to common ears like a Fable; for the World, I count it not an Inn, but an Hoſpital; and a place, not to live, but to dye in. The world that I regard is my ſelf; it is the Microcoſm of my own frame that I caſt mine eye on; for the other, I uſe it but like my Globe, and turn it round ſometimes for my recreation. Men that look upon my out-

outside, perusing only my condition and Fortunes, do err in my Altitude, for I am above *Atlas* his shoulders. The earth is a point not only in respect of the Heavens above us, but of that heavenly and celestial part within us: that mass of Flesh that circumscribes me, limits not my mind: that surface that tells the Heavens it hath an end, cannot perswade me I have any: I take my circle to be above three hundred and sixty; though the number of the Ark do measure my body, it comprehendeth not my mind: whilst I study to find how I am a Microcosm or little World, I find my self something more than the great. There is surely a piece of Divinity in us, something that was before the Elements, and owes no homage unto the Sun. Nature tells me I am the Image of God, as well as Scripture: he that understands not thus much, hath not his introduction or first lesson, and is yet to begin the Alphabet of man. Let me not injure the felicity of others, if I say I am as happy as any;

Ruat

Ruat cælum, Fiat voluntas tua, ſalveth all; ſo that whatſoever happens, it is but what our daily prayers deſire. In brief, I am content, and what ſhould providence add more? Surely this is it we call Happineſs, and this do I enjoy; with this I am happy in a dream, and as content to enjoy a happineſs in a fancy, as others in a more apparent truth and realty. There is ſurely a neerer apprehenſion of any thing that delights us in our dreams, than in our waked ſenſes; without this I were unhappy: for my awaked judgment diſcontents me, ever whiſpering unto me, that I am from my friend; but my friendly dreams in night requite me, and make me think I am within his arms. I thank God for my happy dreams, as I do for my good reſt, for there is a ſatisfaction unto reaſonable deſires, and ſuch as can be content with a fit of happineſs. And ſurely it is not a melancholy conceit to think we are all aſleep in this World, and that the conceits of this life are as meer dreams

to

to those of the next, as the Phantasms of the night, to the conceits of the day. There is an equal delusion in both, and the one doth but seem to be the embleme or picture of the other; we are somewhat more than our selves in our sleeps, and the slumber of the body seems to be but the waking of the soul. It is the ligation of sense, but the liberty of reason, and our waking conceptions do not match the Fancies of our sleeps. At my Nativity, my Ascendant was the watery sign of *Scorpius*; I was born in the Planetary hour of *Saturn*, and I think I have a piece of that Leaden Planet in me. I am no way facetious, nor disposed for the mirth and galliardize of company; yet in one dream I can compose a whole Comedy, behold the action, apprehend the justs, and laugh my self awake at the conceits thereof: were my memory as faithful as my reason is then fruitful, I would never study but in my dreams; and this time also would I chuse for my devotions: but

* our

* our groſſer memories have then ſo little hold of our abſtracted underſtandings, that they forget the ſtory,] and can only relate to our awaked ſouls, a confuſed and broken tale of that that hath paſſed. *Ariſtotle*, who hath written a ſingular Tract of Sleep, hath not methinks throughly defined it; nor yet *Galen*, though he ſeem to have corrected it: for thoſe *Noctambuloes* and night-walkers, though in their ſleep, do yet injoy the action of their ſenſes: we muſt therefore ſay that there is ſomething in us that is not in the juriſdiction of *Morpheus*; and that thoſe abſtracted and ecſtatick ſouls do walk about in their own corps, as ſpirits with the bodies they aſſume; wherein they ſeem to hear, and feel, though indeed the Organs are deſtitute of ſenſe, and their natures of thoſe faculties that ſhould inform them. Thus it is obſerved, that men ſometimes upon the hour of their departure, do ſpeak and reaſon above themſelves. For then the ſoul beginning to be freed

freed from the ligaments of the body, begins to reason like her self, and to discourse in a strain above mortality.

We tearm sleep a death, and yet it is waking that kills us, and destroys those spirits that are the house of life. 'Tis indeed a part of life that best expresseth death; for every man truely lives, so long as he acts his nature, or some way makes good the faculties of himself: *Themistocles* therefore that slew his Soldier in his sleep, was a merciful Executioner; 'tis a kind of punishment the mildness of no laws hath invented; *I wonder the fancy of *Lucan* and *Seneca* did not discover it.] It is that death by which we may be literally said to dye daily; a death which *Adam* dyed before his mortality; a death whereby we live a middle and moderating point between life and death; in fine, so like death, I dare not trust it without my prayers, and an half adieu unto the World, and take my farewel in a Colloquy with God. *Sect.* 12.

The

The night is come, like to the day;
Depart not thou great God away.
Let not my sins, black as the night,
Eclipse the lustre of thy light.
Keep still in my Horizon; for to me
The Sun makes not the day, but thee.
Thou whose nature cannot sleep,
On my temples centry keep;
Guard me 'gainst those watchful foes,
Whose eyes are open while mine close.
Let no dreams my head infest,
But such as Jacob's *temples blest.*
While I do rest, my Soul advance,
Make my sleep a holy trance.
That I may, my rest being wrought,
Awake into some holy thought;
And with as active vigour run
My course, as doth the nimble Sun.
Sleep is a death; O make me try,
By sleeping, what it is to die:
And as gently lay my head
On my grave, as now my bed.
Howere I rest, great God, let me
Awake again at least with thee.
And thus assur'd, behold I lie
Securely, or to awake or die.
These are my drowsie days; in vain
I do now wake to sleep again:
O come that hour, when I shall never
Sleep again, but wake for ever.

This

This is the Dormative I take to bedward; I need no other *Laudanum* than this to make me ſleep; after which, I cloſe mine eyes in ſecurity, content to take my leave of the Sun, and ſleep unto the reſurrection.

The method I ſhould uſe in diſtributive Juſtice, I often obſerve in commutative; and keep a Geometrical proportion in both; whereby becoming equable to others, I become unjuſt to my ſelf, and ſupererogate in that common principle, *Do unto others as thou wouldſt be done unto thy ſelf.* I was not born unto riches, neither is it I think my Star to be wealthy; or if it were, the freedom of my mind, and frankneſs of my diſpoſition, were able to contradict and croſs my fates. For to me avarice ſeems not ſo much a vice, as a deplorable piece of madneſs; *to conceive our ſelves Urinals, or be perſwaded that we are dead, is not ſo ridiculous,] nor ſo many degrees beyond the power of Hellebore, as this. The opinion of Theory, and poſitions of men, are Sect. 13.

not

not so void of reason, as their practised conclusions: some have held that Snow is black, that the earth moves, that the Soul is air, fire, water; but all this is Philosophy, and there is no *delirium*, if we do but speculate the folly and indisputable dotage of avarice, to that subterraneous Idol, and God of the Earth. I do confess I am an Atheist; I cannot perswade my self to honour that the World adores; whatsoever vertue its prepared substance may have within my body, it hath no influence nor operation without: I would not entertain a base design, or an action that should call me villain, for the Indies; and for this only do I love and honour my own soul, and have methinks two arms too few to embrace my self. *Aristotle* is too severe, that will not allow us to be truely liberal without wealth, and the bountiful hand of Fortune; if this be true, I must confess I am charitable only in my liberal intentions, and bountiful well-wishes. But if the example

ample of the Mite be not only an act of wonder, but an example of the nobleſt Charity, ſurely poor men may alſo build Hoſpitals, and the rich alone have not erected Cathedrals. I have a private method which others obſerve not; I take the opportunity of my ſelf to do good; I borrow occaſion of Charity from mine own neceſſities, and ſupply the wants of others, when I am in moſt need my ſelf; for it is an honeſt ſtratagem to make advantage of our ſelves, and ſo to husband the acts of vertue, that where they were defective in one circumſtance, they may repay their want, and multiply their goodneſs in another. I have not *Peru* in my deſires, but a competence, and ability to perform thoſe good works, to which he hath inclined my nature. He is rich, who hath enough to be charitable; and it is hard to be ſo poor, that a noble mind may not find a way to this piece of goodneſs. *He that giveth to the poor, lendeth to the Lord*; there is more Rhetorick in that one ſentence, than in a Library

of Sermons; and indeed if those Sentences were understood by the Reader, with the same Emphasis as they are delivered by the Author, we needed not those Volumes of instructions, but might be honest by an Epitome. Upon this motive only I cannot behold a Beggar without relieving his Necessities with my Purse, or his Soul with my Prayers; these scenical and accidental differences between us, cannot make me forget that common and untoucht part of us both; there is under these *Cantoes* and miserable outsides, these mutilate and semi-bodies, a soul of the same alloy with our own, whose Genealogy is Gods as well as ours, and is as fair a way to Salvation as our selves. Statists that labour to contrive a Common-wealth without our poverty, take away the object of charity, not understanding only the Common-wealth of a Christian, but forgetting the prophecie of Christ.

Sect. 14. Now there is another part of charity, which is the Basis and Pillar of this, and that is the love of God, for whom we love our neighbour; for

for this I think charity, to love God for himſelf, and our neighbour for God. All that is truly amiable is God, or as it were a divided piece of him, that retains a reflex or ſhadow of himſelf. Nor is it ſtrange that we ſhould place affection on that which is inviſible; all that we truly love is thus; what we adore under affection of our ſenſes, deſerves not the honour of ſo pure a title. Thus we adore virtue, though to the eyes of ſenſe ſhe be inviſible: Thus that part of our noble friends that we love, is not that part that we imbrace, but that inſenſible part that our arms cannot embrace. God being all goodneſs, can love nothing but himſelf, and the traduction of his holy Spirit. Let us call to aſſize the loves of our parents, the affection of our wives and children, and they are all dumb ſhows and dreams, without reality, truth or conſtancy: for firſt, there is a ſtrong bond of affection between us and our Parents; yet how eaſily diſſolved? We betake our ſelves to a woman, forget our mother in a wife, and the

womb that bare us, in that that ſhall bear our Image: this woman bleſſing us with children, our affection leaves the level it held before, and ſinks from our bed unto our iſſue and picture of Poſterity, where affection holds no ſteady manſion. They, growing up in years, deſire our ends; or applying themſelves to a woman, take a lawful way to love another better than our ſelves. Thus I perceive a man may be buried alive, and behold his grave in his own iſſue.

Sect. 15. I conclude therefore and ſay, there is no happineſs under (or as *Copernicus* will have it, above) the Sun, nor any Crambe in that repeated verity and burthen of all the wiſdom of *Solomon*, *All is vanity and vexation of Spirit.* There is no felicity in that the World adores: *Ariſtotle* whilſt he labours to refute the Idea's of *Plato*, falls upon one himſelf: for his *ſummum bonum* is a *Chimæra*, and there is no ſuch thing as his Felicity. That wherein God himſelf is happy, the holy Angels are happy, in whoſe defect the Devils are unhappy; that dare

dare I call happineſs: whatſoever conduceth unto this, may with an eaſie Metaphor deſerve that name; whatſoever elſe the World terms Happineſs, is to me a ſtory out of *Pliny*, a tale of *Boccace* or *Malizſpini*; an apparition or neat deluſion, wherein there is no more of Happineſs, than the name. Bleſs me in this life with but peace of my Conſcience, command of my affections, the love of thy ſelf and my deareſt friends, and I ſhall be happy enough to pity *Cæſar*. Theſe are, O Lord, the humble deſires of my moſt reaſonable ambition, and all I dare call happineſs on earth; wherein I ſet no rule or limit to thy Hand of Providence; diſpoſe of me according to the wiſdom of thy pleaſure. *Thy will be done, though in my own undoing.]

FINIS.

ANNOTATIONS
UPON
RELIGIO MEDICI.

Nec ſatis eſt vulgaſſe fidem. ——

Pet. Arbit. fragment.

LONDON,
Printed for *R. Scot*, *T. Baſſet*,
J. Wright, *R. Chiſwel.* 1682.

THE ANNOTATOR TO THE READER.

A. Gellius (noct. Attic. l. 20. cap. ult.) *notes some Books that had strange Titles*; Pliny (Præfat. Nat. Hist.) *speaking of some such, could not pass them over without a jeer: So strange (saith he) are the Titles of some Books,* Ut multos ad vadimonium deserendum compellant. *And* Seneca *saith, Some such there are,* Qui patri obstetricem parturienti filiæ accercenti moram injicere possint. *Of the same fate this present Tract* Religio Medici *hath partaken: Exception by some hath been taken to it in respect of its Inscription, which, say they, seems to imply that* Physicians *have a Religion by themselves, which is more than Theologie doth warrant: but it is their Inference, and not the Title, that is to blame;*

for

for no more is meant by that, or endeavoured to be prov'd in the Book, *then that (contrary to the opinion of the unlearned.)* Physitians *have Religion as well as other men.*

For the Work it self, the present Age hath produced none that has had better Reception amongst the learned; it has been received and fostered by almost all, there having been but one that I know of (to verifie that Books have their fates from the Capacity of the Reader) *that has had the face to appear against it; that is Mr.* Alexander * Rosse; *but he is dead, and it is uncomely to skirmish with his* shadow. *It shall be sufficient to remember to the* Reader, *that the noble and most learned* Knight, *Sir* Kenelm Digby, *has delivered his Opinion of it in another sort, who though in some things he differ from the* Authors *sense, yet hath he most candidly and ingeniously allow'd it to be* a very learned and excellent Piece; *and I think no Scholar will say there can be an approbation more authentique. Since the time he published his Observations upon it, one Mr.* Jo. Merryweather a Master

* In his *Medicus Medicatus.*

Maſter *of* Arts *of the* Univerſity *of* Cambridge, *hath deem'd it worthy to be put into the univerſal Language, which about the year* 1644. *he performed; and that hath carried the Authors name not only into the* Low-Countries *and* France (*in both which places the Book in* Latin *hath ſince been Printed*) *but into* Italy *and* Germany; *and in* Germany *it has ſince fallen into the hands of a Gentleman of that Nation* * (*of his Name he hath given us no more than* L. N. M. E. N.) *who hath written learned* Annotations *upon it in* Latin, *which were Printed together with the Book at* Strasbourg, 1652. *And for the general good Opinion the World had entertained both of the* Work *and* Author, *this Stranger tells you*: * Inter alios Auctores incidi in librum cui Titulus *Religio Medici*, jam ante mihi innotuerat lectionem iſtius libri multos præclaros viros delectaſſe, imo occupaſſe. Non ignorabam librum in *Anglia*, *Gallia*, *Italia*, *Belgio*, *Germania* cupidiſſime legi; conſtabat mihi cum non ſolum in *Anglia* ac *Batavia*, ſed & *Pariſiis* cum

* That he was a *German*, appears by his Notes, *Pag.* 35. where he hath theſe words, *Dulciſſima noſtra Germania*, &c.

* *In Præfat. Annotat.*

cum præfatione, in qua Auctor magnis laudibus fertur esse, Typis mandatum Compertum mihi erat, multos magnos atq; eruditos viros censere Autorem (quantum ex hoc scripto perspici potest) sanctitate vitæ ac pietate elucere, &c. *But for the worth of the* Book, *it is so well known to every* English-man *that is fit to read it, that this attestation of a* Forrainer *may seem superfluous.*

The German, *to do him right, hath in his* Annotations *given a fair specimen of his learning, shewing his skill in the Languages, as well antient as modern; as also his acquaintance with all manner of Authors, both sacred and profane, out of which he has amass'd a world of Quotations; but yet, not to mention that he hath not observed some Errors of the Press, and one or two main ones of the Latine Translation, whereby the Author is much injured; it cannot be denyed but he hath pass'd over many hard places untoucht, that might deserve a Note; that he hath made* Annotations *on some, where no need was; in the explication of others hath gone besides the true sense.*

[*And*

[*And were we free from all these, yet one great Fault there is, he may be justly charg'd with, that is, that he cannot* manum de Tabula *even in matters the most obvious: which is an affectation ill-becoming a* Scholar; *witness the most learned Annotator,* Claud. Minos. Divion. in prefat. commentar. Alciat. Emblemat. præfix. Præstat (*saith he*) brevius omnia persequi, & leviter attingere quæ nemini esse ignota suspicari possint, quam quasi ῥαψῳδεῖν, perq; locos communes identidem expatiari.

I go not about by finding fault with his, obliquely to commend my own; I am as far from that, as 'tis possible others will be: All I seek, by this Preface, next to acquainting the Reader *with the various entertainment of the Book, is, that he would be advertized, that these Notes were collected ten* * *years since, long before the* German's *were written; so that I am no Plagiary (as who peruseth his Notes and mine will easily perceive:) And in the second place, that I made this Recuil meerly for mine own entertainment, and not with any invention to evulge it; Truth is*

* Excepting two or three Particulars, in which reference is made to some Books that came over since that time.

is my witness, the publication proceeds meerly from the importunity of the Book-seller (my special friend) who being acquainted with what I had done, and about to set out another Edition of the Book, would not be denied these Notes to attex to it; 'tis he (not I) that divulgeth it, and whatever the success be, he alone is concern'd in it; I only say for my self what my Annotations bear in the Frontispiece,

Nec satis est vulgasse fidem ——

That is, that it was not enough to all persons (though pretenders to Learning) that our Physitian *had publish'd his Creed, because it wanted an exposition. I say further, that the* German's *is not full, and that* (—— Quicquid sum Ego quamvis Infra Lucilli censum ingeniumq; ——) *my explications do in many things illustrate the text of my Author.*

24 Martii,
1654.

ANNO-

ANNOTATIONS UPON *RELIGIO MEDICI.*

The Epistle to the *Reader.*

CErtainly that man were greedy of life, who should desire to live when all the World were at an end.] *This Mr.* Merryweather *hath rendred thus*; Cupidum esse vitæ oportet, qui universo jam expirante mundo vivere cuperet; *and well enough: but it is not amiss to remember, that we have this saying in* Seneca *the* Tragœdian, *who gives it us thus*, Vitæ est avidus quisquis non vult mundo secum pereunte mori.

There

There are many things delivered Rhetorically.] *The Author herein imitates the ingenuity of St.* Austin, *who, in his* Retract, *corrects himself for having delivered some things more like a young Rhetorician than a sound Divine: but though St.* Aug. *doth deservedly acknowledge it a fault in himself, in that he voluntarily published such things, yet cannot it be so in this Author, in that he intended no publication of it, as he professeth in this Epistle, and in that other to Sir* Kenelm Digby.

The

The First PART.

The general ſcandal of my Profeſſion.] Phyſitians (of the number whereof it appears by ſeveral paſſages in this Book the Author is one) do commonly hear ill in this behalf. It is a common ſpeech (but onely amongſt the unlearned ſort) *Ubi tres Medici, duo Athei.* The reaſons why thoſe of that profeſſion (I declare my ſelf that I am none, but *Cauſarum Actor mediocris*, to uſe *Horace* his phraſe) may be thought to deſerve that cenſure, the Author rendreth, *Sect.* 19. *Sect.* 1. *Pag.* 1.

The natural courſe of my ſtudies.] The vulgar lay not the imputation of Atheiſm onely upon Phyſitians, but upon Philoſophers in general, who for that they give themſelves to underſtand the operations of *Nature*, they calumniate them, as though they reſted in the ſecond cauſes without any reſpect

to the first. Hereupon it was, that in the tenth Age Pope *Silvester* the second pass'd for a Magician, because he understood Geometry and natural Philosophy. *Baron. Annal.* 990. And *Apuleius* long before him laboured of the same suspicion upon no better ground; he was accus'd, and made a learned Apology for himself, and in that hath laid down what the ground is of such accusations, in these words: *Hæc fermè communi quodam errore imperitorum Philosophis objectantur, ut partem eorum qui corporum causas meras & simplices rimantur, irreligiosas putant; eoque aiunt Deos abnuere, ut Anaxagoram, & Lucippum, & Democritum, & Epicurum, cæteroſq; rerum naturæ Patronos.* Apul. in Apolog. And it is possible that those that look upon the second causes scattered, may rest in them and go no further, as my Lord *Bacon* in one of his *Essayes* observeth; but our Author tells us there is a true Philosophy, from which no man becomes an Atheist. *Sect.* 46.

The indifference of my behaviour

and

and Diſcourſe in matters of Religion.] Bigot's are ſo overſway'd by a prepotterous zeal, that they hate all moderation in diſcourſe of Religion; they are the men forſooth —— *qui ſolos credant habendos eſſe Deos quos ipſi colunt.* —— *Eraſmus* upon this accompt makes a great complaint to Sir *Tho. More* in an Epiſtle of his touching one *Dorpius* a Divine of *Lovain*, who becauſe, upon occaſion of diſcourſe betwixt them, *Eraſmus* would not promiſe him to write againſt *Luther*, told *Eraſmus*, that he was a *Lutheran*, and afterwards publiſhed him for ſuch; and yet as *Eraſmus was* reputed no very good Catholick, ſo for certain he was no Proteſtant.

Not that I meerly owe this Title to the Font] as moſt do, taking up their Religion according to the way of their Anceſtors; this is to be blamed amongſt all Perſons: It was practiſed as well amongſt Heathens as Chriſtians.

Per caput hoc juro, per quod Pater antè ſolebat, ſaith *Aſcanius* in *Virgil*: and *Apuleius* notes it for an abſur-

dity. *Utrum Philosopho putas turpe scire ista, an nescire? negligere, an curare? nosse quanta sit etiam in istis providentiæ ratio, an de diis immortalibus Matri & Patri cedere?* saith he in *Apolog.* and so doth *Minutius*: *Unusquisque vestrum non cogitat prius se debere deum nosse quàm colere, dum inconsultè gestiuntur patentibus obedire, dum fieri malunt alieni erroris accessio, quam sibi credere.* Minut. *in* Octav.

But having in my riper years examined, &c.] according to the Apostolical Precept, *Omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete.*

Sect. 2. Pag. 2. *There being a Geography of Religions*] *i. e.* of Christian Religion, which you may see described in Mr. *Brerewood*'s Enquiries: he means not of the Protestant Religion; for though there be a difference in Discipline, yet the *Anglican*, *Scotic*, *Belgic*, *Gallican*, and *Helvetic* Churches differ not in any essential matter of the Doctrine, as by the *Harmony* of *Confessions* appears, 5 Epist. *Theod. Bezæ Edmundo Grindallo Ep. Londinens.*

Wherein

Wherein I diſlike nothing but the Name] that is, *Lutheran, Calviniſt, Zuinglian*, &c.

Now the accidental occaſion wherein, &c.] This is graphically deſcribed by *Thuanus* in his Hiſtory: but becauſe his words are too large for this purpoſe, I ſhall give it you ſomewhat more briefly, according to the relation of the Author of the Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*. The occaſion was the neceſſity of Pope *Leo* Tenth, who by his profuſion had ſo exhauſted the Treaſure of the *Church*, that he was conſtrained to have recourſe to the publiſhing of Indulgences to raiſe monies: ſome of which he had deſtined to his own Treaſury, and other part to his Allyes, and particularly to his Siſter he gave all the money that ſhould be raiſed in *Saxony*; and ſhe, that ſhe might make the beſt profit of the donation, commits it to one *Aremboldus*, a Biſhop, to appoint Treaſurers for theſe Indulgences. Now the cuſtome was, that whenſoever theſe Indulgences were ſent into *Saxony*, they were to be divulged

by the Fryars *Eremites* (of which Order *Luther* then was) but *Arenboldus* his agents thinking with themſelves, that the Fryars *Eremites* were ſo well acquainted with the trade, that if the buſineſs ſhould be left to them, they ſhould neither be able to give ſo good an account of their Negotiation, nor yet get ſo much themſelves by it as they might do in caſe the buſineſs were committed to another Order; they thereupon recommend it to (and the buſineſs is undertaken by) the *Dominican* Fryars, who performed it ſo ill, that the ſcandal ariſing both from thence, and from the ill lives of thoſe that ſet them on work, ſtirred up *Luther* to write againſt the abuſes of theſe Indulgences; which was all he did at firſt; but then, not long after, being provoked by ſome Sermons and ſmall Diſcourſes that had been publiſhed againſt what he had written, he rips up the *buſineſs* from the beginning, and publiſhes xcv *Theſes* againſt it at *Wittenberg*. Againſt theſe, *Tekel* a *Dominican* writes; then *Luther* adds an explication to his

Eckius

Eckius and *Prierius* Dominicans, thereupon take the controverſie againſt him: and now *Luther* begins to be hot; and becauſe his adverſaries could not found the matter of Indulgences upon other foundations then the *Pope*'s power and infallibility, that begets a diſputation betwixt them concerning the Pope's power, which *Luther* inſiſts upon as inferiour to that of a *general Council*; and ſo by degrees he came on to oppoſe the Popiſh Doctrine of *Remiſſion of Sins, Penances*, and *Purgatory*; and by reaſon of Cardinal *Cajetans* imprudent management of the conference he had with him, it came to paſs that he rejected the whole body of Popiſh Doctrine. So that by this we may ſee what was the accidental occaſion, wherein the ſlender means whereby, and the abject condition of the perſon by whom, the work of Reformation of Religion was ſet on foot.

Tet I have not ſhaken hands with thoſe deſperate Reſolutions, (Reſolvers it ſhould be, without doubt) who had rather venture at large their de- Sect. 3. Pag. 3.

decayed Bottom, than bring her in to be new trimm'd in the Dock; who had rather promiſcuouſly retain all, than abridge any; and obſtinately be what they are, than what they have been, as to ſtand in a diameter and at ſwords points with them: we have reformed from them, not againſt them, &c.] Theſe words by Mr. *Merryweather* are thus rendred, *ſc. Nec tamen in vecordem illum pertinacium hominum gregem memet adjungo, qui labefactatum navigium malunt fortunæ committere quàm in navale de integro reſarciendum deducere, qui malunt omnia promiſcuè retinere quàm quicquam inde diminuere, & pertinaciter eſſe qui ſunt quàm qui olim fuerunt, ita uti iſdem ex diametro repugnent: ab illis, non contra illos, reformationem inſtituimus,* &c. And the Latine Annotator ſits down very well ſatisfied with it, and hath beſtowed ſome Notes upon it; but under the favour both of him and the Tranſlator, this Tranſlation is ſo far different from the ſenſe of the Author, that it hath no ſenſe in it; or if there be any conſtruction of

ſenſe

ſenſe in it, it is quite beſides the Author's meaning; which will appear if we conſider the context, by that we ſhall find that the Author in giving an account of his Religion, tells us firſt, that he is a Chriſtian, and farther, that he is of the reform'd Religion; but yet he ſaith, in this place, he is not ſo rigid a Proteſtant, nor at defiance with Papiſts ſo far, but that in many things he can comply with them, (the particulars he afterwards mentions in this Section) for, ſaith he, we have reform'd from them, not againſt them; that is, as the *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury* againſt the *Jeſuit* diſcourſeth well, We have made no new Religion nor Schiſm from the old; but in calling for the old, aud deſiring that which was novel and crept in might be rejected, and the Church of *Rome* refuſing it, we have reform'd from thoſe upſtart novel Doctrines, but againſt none of the old: and other ſenſe the place cannot bear; therefore how the *Latine Annotator* can apply it as though in this place the Author intended to note the *Ana-*

baptiſts

baptists, I see not, unless it were in respect of the expression, *Vecordem pertinacium hominum gregem*, which truly is a description well befitting them, though not intended to them in this place: howsoever, I see not any ground from hence to conclude the Author to be any whit inclining to the *Bulk* of Popery (but have great reason from many passages in this Book to believe the contrary,) as he that prefix'd a Preface to the Parisian Edition of this Book hath unwarrantably done.

But for the mistake of the Translator, it is very obvious from whence that arose. I doubt not but it was from the mistake of the sense of the English Phrase, *Shaken hands*, which he hath rendred by these words, *Memet adjungo*, wherein he hath too much play'd the Scholar, and shew'd himself to be more skilful in forraign and ancient customs, then in the vernacular practise and usage of the language of his own Country; for although amongst the Latines protension of the Hand were a Symbole and sign of Peace and Concord,

(as

(as *Alex. ab Alexandro*; *Manum verò protendere, pacem peti significabant*, (saith he) *Gen. Dier. lib. 4. cap.* which also is confirmed by *Cicero pro Dejotaro*; and *Cæsar, l. 2. de Bello Gallico*) and was used in their first meetings, as appears by the Phrase, *Jungere hospitio Dextras*; and by that of *Virgil*,

Oremus pacem, & Dextras tendamus inermes.

And many like passages that occur in the Poets, to which I believe the Translator had respect: yet in modern practise, especially with us in *England*, that ceremony is used as much in our *Adieu's* as in the *first Congress*; and so the Author meant in this place, by saying he had not *shaken hands*; that is, that he had not so deserted, or bid farewel to the *Romanists*, as to stand at swords point with them: and then he gives his reasons at those words, *For omitting those improperations*, &c. So that instead of *memet adjungo*, the Translator should have used some word

word or Phraſe of a clean contrary ſignification; and inſtead of *ex diametro repugnent*, it ſhould be *repugnem*.

Sect. 5. *Pag.* 8. *Henry* the Eighth, though he rejected the Pope, refuſed not the faith of *Rome*.] So much *Buchanan* in his own life written by himſelf teſtifieth, who ſpeaking of his coming into *England* about the latter end of that King's time, ſaith, *Sed ibi tum omnia adeo erant incerta, ut eodem die, ac eodem igne* (very ſtrange!) *utriuſque factionis homines cremarentur, Henrico* 8. *jam ſeniore ſuæ magis ſecuritati quàm Religionis puritati intento.* And for confirmation of this aſſertion of the Author, *vide Stat.* 31 *H.* 8. *cap.* 14.

And was conceived the State of Venice *would have attempted in our days.*] This expectation was in the time of Pope *Paul* the Fifth, who by excommunicating that Republique, gave occaſion to the Senate to baniſh all ſuch of the Clergy as would not by reaſon of the Popes command adminiſter the Sacraments; and upon that account the *Jeſuites* were caſt out,

out, and never since receiv'd into that State.

Or be angry with his judgement for not agreeing with me in that, from which perhaps within a few dayes I should dissent my self.] I cannot think but in this expression the Author had respect to that of that excellent French Writer, *Monsieur Mountaign* (in whom I often trace him.) *Combien diversement jugeons nous de choses? Combien de fois changeons nous nos fantasies? Ce que je tien aujourdhuy, ce que je croy, je le tien & le croy de toute ma Creance, mais ne m'est il pas advenu non une fois mais cent, mais mille & tous les jours d'avoir embrasse quelque autre chose?* Mountaign. lib. 2. *Des Essais.* Chap. 12. Sect. 6. Pag. 9.

Every man is not a proper Champion for truth, &c. A good cause is never betray'd more then when it is prosecuted with much eagerness, and but little sufficiency, and therefore *Zuinglius*, though he were of *Carolistadius* his opinion in the point of the Sacrament of the *Eucharist* against *Luther*, yet he blamed him for

for undertaking the defence of that cause against *Luther*, not judging him able enough for the encounter: *Non satis habet humerorum*, saith he of *Caroloſtad*, alluding to that of *Horace*, *Sumite materiam veſtris qui ſcribitis æquam Viribus, & verſate diu quid ferre recuſent Quid valeant humeri.*— So *Minutius Fœlix*; *Plerumq; pro diſſerentium viribus, & eloquentiæ poteſtate, etiam perſpicuæ veritatis conditio mutetur.* Minut. in Octav. And *Lactantius* saith, this truth is verified in *Minutius* himself: for *Him*, *Tertullian* and *Cyprian*, he spares not to blame (all of them) as if they had not with dexterity enough defended the Christian Cause against the *Ethniques*. *Lactant. de juſtitia*, *cap.* 1. I could wish that those that succeeded him had not as much cause of complaint against him: surely he is noted to have had many errors *contra fidem.*

In *Philoſophy* ——there is no man more Paradoxical than my self, but in Divinity I love to keep the Road, *&c.*] Appositely to the mind of the Author, saith the Publisher of Mr. *Pembel's*

Pembel's Book *de origine formarum, Certe* (ſaith he) *in locis Theologicis ne quid detrimenti capiat vel Pax, vel Veritas Chriſti* —— *â novarum opiniorum pruritu prorſus abſtinendum puto uſq; adeo ut ad certam regulam etiam loqui debeamus, quod pie & prudenter monet Auguſtinus* (*de Civ. Dei*, l. 16. cap. 23.) [*ne verborum licentia impia vi gignat opinionem,*] *at in pulvere Scholaſtico ubi in nullius verba juramus, & in utramvis partem ſine diſpendio vel pacis, vel ſalutis ire liceat, major conceditur cum ſentiendi tum loquendi libertas*, &c. Capet, *in Ep. Dedicat. Pembel. de origine form. præf.*

Hereſies periſh not with their Authors, but like the River *Arethuſa*, though they loſe their Currents in one place, they riſe again in another.] Who would not think that this expreſſion were taken from Mr. *Mountaigne*, *l.* 2. *des Eſs. cap.* 12. Where he hath theſe words, *Nature enſerre dans les termes de ſon progreſs ordinaire comme toutes autres choſes auſſi les creances les judgements & opinions des hommes elles ont leur revolutions*;

volations; and that *Mountaigne* took his from *Tully*. *Non enim hominum interitu ſententiæ quoque occidunt. Tull. de nat. deorum. l.* 1. &c. Of the River *Arethuſa* thus *Seneca*. *Videbis celebratiſſimum carminibus fontem Arethuſam limpidiſſimi ac perlucidiſſimi ad imum ſtagni gelidiſſimas aquas profundentem, ſive illas primum naſcentes invenit, ſive flumen integrum ſubter tot maria, & à confuſione pejoris undæ ſervatum reddidit.* Senec. *de conſolat. ad Martiam.*

Sect. 7. *Pag.* 12. *Now the firſt of mine was that of the* Arabians.] For this Hereſie, the Author here ſheweth what it was; they are called *Arabians* from the place where it was foſtered; and becauſe the *Hereſiarch* was not known, *Euſeb.* St. *Aug.* and *Nicephorus* do all write of it: the reaſon of this Hereſie was ſo ſpecious, that it drew Pope *John* 22 to be of the ſame perſwaſion. Where then was his infallibility? Why, *Bellarmine* tells you he was nevertheleſs infallible for that: for, ſaith he, he maintained this opinion when he might do it without peril of

of Hereſie, for that no definition of the Church whereby 'twas made Hereſie, had preceded when he held that opinion. *Bellar. l. 4. de Pontif. Roman. cap. 4.* Now this definition was firſt made ('tis true) by Pope *Benedict* in the 14 Age: but then I would ask another queſtion, that is, If 'till that time there were nothing defined in the Church touching the beatitude of Saints, what certainty was there touching the ſanctity of any man? and upon what ground were thoſe Canonizations of Saints had, that were before the 14 Age?

The ſecond was that of Origen.] Beſides St. *Auguſtine*, *Epiphanius*, and alſo S. *Hierom* do relate that *Origen* held, that not onely the ſouls of men, but the *Devils* themſelves ſhould be diſcharged from torture after a certain time: but *Genebrard* endeavours to clear him of this. *Vid. Coquæum, in 21 lib. Aug. de Civ. Dei, cap. 17.*

Theſe opinions, though condemned by lawful Councils, were not Hereſie in me, &c.] For to make an Heretique, there muſt be not only *Error*

in intellectu, but *pertinacia in voluntate*. So St. *Aug. Qui sententiam suam quamvis falsam atque perversam nulla pertinaci animositate defendunt, quærunt autem cauta solicitudine veritatem, corrigi parati cum invenerint, nequaquam sunt inter Hæreticos deputandi.* Aug. *cont. Manich.* 24. *qu.* 3.

Sect. 9. Pag. 16. *The deepest mysteries that ours contains, have not only been illustrated, but maintained by Syllogism and the Rule of Reason*] and since this Book was written, by Mr. *White* in his *Institutiones Sacræ*.

And when they have seen the Red Sea, doubt not of the Miracle.] Those that have seen it, have been better informed than Sir *Henry Blount* was; for he tells us, That he desired to view the passage of *Moses* into the Red Sea (not being above three days journey off,) but the *Jews* told him the precise place was not known within less than the space of a days journey along the shore; wherefore (saith he) I left that as too uncertain for any Observation. *In his Voyage into the* Levant.

I

I had as lieve you tell me, that *Anima est Angelus hominis, est corpus Dei*, as *Entelechia*; *Lux est umbra Dei*, as *actus perspicui.*] Great variety of opinion there hath been amongst the Ancient Philosophers touching the definition of the Soul. *Thales*, his was, that it is *a Nature without Repose*. *Asclepiades*, that it is *an Exercitation of Sense*. *Hesiod*, that it is *a thing composed of Earth and Water*; *Parmenides* holds, *of Earth and Fire*; *Galen* that it is *Heat*; *Hippocrates*, that it is *a spirit diffused through the body*. Some others have held it to be *Light*; *Plato* saith, 'tis a *Substance moving it self*; and after him cometh *Aristotle* (whom the Author here reproveth) and goeth a degree farther, and saith it is *Entelechia*, that is, that which naturally makes the body to move. But this definition is as rigid as any of the other; for this tells us not what the *essence*, *origine* or *nature* of the *soul* is, but only marks an *effect* of it, and therefore signifieth no more than if he had said (as the Author's Phrase is) that it is *An-* Sect. 10. *Pag.* 19.

gelus hominis, or an *Intelligence* that moveth man, as he ſuppoſed thoſe other to do the Heavens.

Now to come to the definition of Light, in which the Author is alſo unſatisfied with the School of *Ariſtotle*, he ſaith, It ſatisfieth him no more to tell him that *Lux eſt actus perſpicui*, than if you ſhould tell him that it is *umbra Dei*. The ground of this definition given by the *Peripateticks*, is taken from a paſſage in *Ariſtot. de anima, l. 2. cap. 7.* where *Ariſtotle* ſaith, That the colour of the thing ſeen doth move that which is *perſpicuum actu* (i. e. *illuſtratam naturam quæ ſit in aere aliove corpore tranſparente*) and that that, in regard of its continuation to the eye, moveth the eye, and by its help the internal *ſenſorium*; and that ſo viſion is perform'd. Now it is true that the Sectators of *Ariſtotle* are too blame, by faſtening upon him by occaſion of this paſſage, that he meant, that thoſe things that made this impreſs upon the Organs are meer accidents and have nothing of ſubſtance; which is more than

even

ever he meant, and cannot be maintained without violence to Reason and his own Principles; so for *Aristotle* himself, no man is beholden to him for any Science acquir'd by this definition: for what is any man the near for his telling him that Colour (admitting it to be a body, as indeed it is, and in that place he doth not deny) doth move *actu perspicuum*, when as the perspicuity is in relation to the eye; and he doth not say how it comes to be perspicuous, which is the thing enquired after, but gives it that denomination before the eye hath perform'd its office; so that if he had said it had been *umbra Dei*, it would have been as intelligible, as what he hath said. He that would be satisfied how Vision is perform'd, let him see Mr. *Hobbs* in *Tract. de nat. human. cap.* 2.

For God had not caused it to rain upon the Earth.] St. *Aug. de Genes. ad literam cap.* 5. 6. salves that expression from any inconvenience; but the Author in *Pseudodox. Epidemic. l.* 7. *cap.* 1. shews that we have no reason to be confident that this fruit was an *Apple*.

I believe that the Serpent *(if we shall literally understand it) from his proper form and figure made his motion on his belly before the curse.*] Yet the Author himself sheweth in *Pseudodox. Epidemic. lib. 7. cap.* 2. that the form or kind of this Serpent is not agreed on: yet *Gomesius* affirm'd it was a *Dragon*, *Eugubinus* a *Basilisk*, *Delrio* a *Viper*, and others a common Snake: but of what kind soever it was, he sheweth in the same Volume, *lib. 5. c. 4.* that there was no inconvenience, that the Temptation should be perform'd in his proper shape.

I find the tryal of the Pucelage and virginity of Women, which God ordained the *Jews*, is very fallible.] *Locus extat. Deut. c.* 22. the same is affirm'd by *Laurentius* in his *Anatom.*

Whole Nations have escaped the curse of Child-birth, which God seems to pronounce upon the whole sex.] This is attested by Mr. *Montaign*, *Les doleurs de l'enfantiment par les medicines, & par dein mesme estimles grandes, & que nous passons avec tant de Ceremonies, il y a des*

nations

nations entieres qui ne'n fuit nul conte.
l. 1. des Eſſ. c. 14.

Who can ſpeak of Eternity *without a Solœciſm, or think thereof without an Extaſie?* Time *we may comprehend*,&c.] Touching the difference betwixt *Eternity* and *Time*, there have been great diſputes amongſt Philoſophers; ſome affirming it to be no more than *duration perpetual conſiſting of parts*; and others (to which opinion, it appears by what follows in this Section, the Author adheres) affirmed (to uſe the Author's phraſe) that it hath no diſtinction of Tenſes, but is according to *Boetius* (*lib. 5. conſol. proſ.* 6.) his definition, *interminabilis vitæ tota ſimul & perfecta poſſeſſio.* For me, *Non noſtrum eſt tantas componere lites.* I ſhall only obſerve what each of them hath to ſay againſt the other. Say thoſe of the firſt opinion againſt thoſe that follow *Boetius* his definition, That definition was taken by *Boetius* out of *Plato*'s *Timæus*, and is otherwiſe applyed, though not by *Boetius*, yet by thoſe that follow him, than ever *Plato* intended it; for Sect. 11. Pag. 21.

he did not take it in the Abstract, but in the Concrete, for an *eternal thing*, a *Divine substance* by which he meant *God*, or his *Anima mundi*: and this he did, to the intent to establish this truth, That no mutation can befal the Divine Majesty, as it doth to things subject to generation and corruption; and that *Plato* there intended not to define or describe any *species* of duration: and they say that it is impossible to understand any such *species* of duration that is (according to the Author's expression) but one *permanent point*.

Now that which those that follow *Boetius*, urge against the other definition is, they say it doth not at all difference *Eternity* from the nature of *Time*; for they say if it be composed of many *Nunc's*, or many instants, by the addition of one more, it is still encreased; and by that means *Infinity* or *Eternity* is not included, nor ought more than *Time*. For this, see Mr. *White, de dial. mundo, Dial.* 3. *Nod.* 4.

Indeed he only is &c.] This the Author infers from the words of God to *Moses*, *I am that I am*; and this,

this to distinguish him from all others, who (he saith) have and shall be: but those that are learned in the *Hebrew*, do affirm that the words in that place (*Exod.* 3.) do not signifie, *Ego sum qui sum, & qui est*, &c. but *Ero qui ero, & qui erit*, &c. *vid. Gassend. in animad. Epicur. Physiolog.*

I wonder how Aristotle *could conceive the World Eternal, or how he could make two Eternities*:] (that is, that God and the World both, were eternal.) I wonder more at either the ignorance or incogitancy of the *Conimbricenses*, who in their Comment upon the eighth Book of *Aristotle's Physicks* treating of the matter of Creation, when they had first said that it was possible to know it, and that actually it was known, (for *Aristotle* knew it) yet for all this they afterwards affirm, That considering onely the light of Nature, there is nothing can be brought to demonstrate Creation: and yet farther, when they had defined Creation to be the production of a thing *ex nihilo*, and had proved that the world

was

was so created in time, and refused the arguments of the Philosophers to the contrary, they added this, That the World might be created *ab æterno*: for having propos'd this question [*Num aliquid à Deo ex Æternitate procreari potuit?*] they defend the affirmative, and assert, That not onely incorporeal substances, as Angels; or permanent, as the celestial Bodies; or corruptible, as Men, &c. might be produced and made *ab æterno*, and be conserved by an infinite time, *ex utraq; parte*; and that this is neither repugnant to God the Creator, the things created, nor to the nature of Creation; for proof whereof, they bring instances of the *Sun*, which if it had been eternal, had illuminated eternally, (and the virtue of God is not less than the virtue of the Sun.) Another instance they bring of the *divine Word*, which was produc'd *ab æterno*: in which discourse, and in the instances brought to maintain it, it is hard to say whether the madness or impiety be greater; and certainly if Christians thus argue, we have the more reason

reason to pardon the poor Heathen *Aristotle*.

There is not three but a Trinity of Souls.] The *Peripatetiques* held that men had three distinct Souls; whom the Hereticks, the *Anomæi*, and the *Jacobites*, followed. There arose a great dispute about this matter in *Oxford*, in the year 1276; and it was then determined against *Aristotle*. *Daneus Christ. Eth. l.* 1. *c.* 4. and *Suarez* in his Treatise *de causa formali*, *Quæst. An dentur plures formæ in uno composito*, affirmeth there was a Synod that did *anathematize* all that held with *Aristotle* in this point.

There is but one first, and four second Causes in all things.] In that he saith there is but one first cause, he speaketh in opposition to the *Manichees*, who held there were *Duo principia*; one from whom came all good, and the other from whom came all evil: the reason of *Protagoras* did it seems impose upon their understandings; he was wont to say, *Si Deus non est, unde igitur bona? Si autem est, unde mala?* In that

Sect. 14. Pag. 28.

that he saith, there are but four
cond causes, he opposeth *Plato*, w
to the four causes, *material*, *efficien*
formal, and *final*, adds for a fi
exemplar or *Idæa*, sc. *Id ad quod r*
spiciens artifex, id quod destinabat
efficit; according to whose min
Boetius speaks, *lib.* 3. *met.* 9. *de co*
Philosoph.

O qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas,
Terrarum Cœlique, sator, qui tempus ab æv
Ire jubes, stabilisq; manens das cuncta move
Quem non externæ pepulerunt fingere caus
Materiæ fluitantis opus, verum insita sum
Forma boni livore carens: tu cuncta super
Ducis ab exemplo, pulchrum pulcherrimu
Mundum mente gerens, similique in imag
formans
Perfectisq; jubens perfectum absolvere par

And St. *Augustine*, *l.* 83. *quæst.* 46
where (amongst other) he hath the
words, *Restat ergo ut omnia Ratio*
sint condita, nec eadem ratione bo
qua equus: hoc enim absurdum e
existimare: singula autem propri
sunt creata rationibus. But the
ideæ Plato's Scholar *Aristotle* wou
not allow to make or constitute
differen

different sort of cause from the *formal* or *efficient*; to which purpose he disputes *l. 7. Metaphysic.* but he and his Sectators, and the *Romists* also, agree (as the Author) that there are but the four remembred causes: so that the Author in affirming there are but four, hath no adversary but the *Platonists*; but yet in asserting there are four (as his words imply) there are that oppose him, and the *Schools* of *Aristot.* and *Ramus*. I shall bring for instance Mr. *Nat. Carpenter*, who in his *Philosophia libera* affirmeth, there is no such cause as that which they call the *Final cause*: he argueth thus; Every cause hath an influence upon its effect, but so has not the End, therefore it is not a Cause. The *major* Proposition (he saith) is evident, because the influence of a cause upon its effect, is either the causality it self, or something that is necessarily conjoyned to it: and the *minor* is plain; for either the End hath an influence upon the effect immediately, or mediately, by stirring up the Efficient to operate; not immediately

diately, becauſe ſo it ſhould enter either the *conſtitution*, or *production*, or *conſervation* of the things; but the conſtitution it cannot enter, becauſe the conſtitution is onely of *matter* and *form*; nor the Production, for ſo it ſhould concur to the production, either as it is *ſimply the end*, or as an *exciter of the Efficient*; but not ſimply as the end, becauſe the end *as end* doth not go before, but followeth the thing produced, and therefore doth not concur to its production: if they ſay it doth ſo far concur, as it is deſired of the agent or efficient cauſe, it ſhould not ſo have an immediate influence upon the effect, but ſhould onely firſt move the efficient. Laſtly, ſaith he, it doth not enter the conſervation of a thing, becauſe a thing is often conſerved, when it is fruſtrate of its due end, as when its converted to new uſe and end. Divers other arguments he hath to prove there is no ſuch cauſe as the final cauſe, *Nat. Carpenter Philoſop. liber. Decad. 3. Exercitat. 5.* But for all this, the Author and he differ not in ſubſtance

ſtance: for 'tis not the Author's intention to aſſert that the end is in nature præexiſtent to the effect, but only that whatſoever God has made, he hath made to ſome end or other; which he doth to oppoſe the Sectators of *Epicurus*, who maintain the contrary, as is to be ſeen by this of *Lucretius* which follows.

Illud in his rebus vitium vehementer & iſtum
Effugere errorem, vitareque præmeditabor,
Lumina ne facias oculorum clara creata
Proſpicere ut poſſimus: & ut proferre viritim
Proceros paſſus, ideo faſtigia poſſe
Surarũ ac feminum pedibus fundata plicari:
Brachia tum porro validis ex apta lacertis
Eſſe, manuſq; datas utraq; ex parte miniſtras.
Ut facere ad vitam poſſimus, quæ foret uſus:
Cætera de genere hoc, inter quæ cunq; precatur
Omnia perverſa præpoſtera ſunt ratione:
Nil ideo quoniam natum'ſt, in corpore ut uti
Poſſemus; ſed quod natum'ſt, id procreat uſũ,
Nec fuit ante videre oculorum lumina nata,
Nec dictis orare prius, quàm lingua creata'ſt,
Sed potius longè linguæ præceſſit origo
Sermonem, multoq; creata ſunt prius aures
Quàm ſonus eſt auditus, & õnia deniq; mẽbra
Antè fuere, ut opinor, eorum, quàm foret uſus:
Haud igitur potuere utendi creſcere cauſa.

Lucret. lib. 4.

There

Sect. 15. Pag. 29. &c.] *There are no Groteſques in nature.* So *Monſr. Montaign. Il n'y a rien d'inutil en nature, non pas l'inutilitè meſmes. Rien ne s'eſt jugere en cet Univers que n'y tienne place oppor-tun.* Eſſ. l. 3. c. 1.

Who admires not Regiomontanus *his Fly beyond his Eagle?*] Of theſe *Du Bartas.*

Que diray je del' aigle,
D'ont un doct Aleman honore noſtre ſiecle
Aigle qui diſlogeant de la maiſtreſſe main,
Aila loin au devant d'un Empereur Germain,
Et l'ayant recontrè, ſoudaind' une aiſle accourt
Se tour nant le ſuit au ſuel de la porte
Du fort Norembergois, que lis piliers dorez,
Les tapiſſez chemins, les ares elabourez,
Les four droyans Canons, in la jeuſneſſe iſnelle,
In le chena Senat, n'honnoroit tant come elle.
Un jour, que cetominer plus des esbats, que de
mets,
En privè, feſtoyoit ſes ſegneurs plus a mes,
Une mouſche de fer, dans ſa main recolee,
Prit ſans ayde d'autroy, ſa gallard evolee:
Fit une entiere Ronde, & puis d'un cerveau
Come ayant jugement, ſe purcha ſur ſon bra.

Thus Engliſhed by *Sylveſter.*

Why ſhould I not that wooden Eagle mention
(A learned German's late admir'd invention
which

Which mounting from his fist that framed her,
Flew far to meet an Almain *Emperour:*
And having met him with her nimble Train,
And weary wings turning about again,
Followed him close unto the Castle gate
Of Noremberg, *whom all the shews of state,*
Streets hang'd with Arras, arches curious built
Loud thundring Canons, Columns richly guilt,
Gray-headed Senate, and Youth's gallantise,
Grac'd not so much as onely this device.
Once as this Artist more with mirth than meat,
Feasted some friends that he esteemed great,
From under's hand an Iron Fly flew out,
Which having flown a perfect round about,
With weary wings return'd unto her Master,
And as (judicious) on his arm she plac'd her.

Or wonder not more at the operation of two souls in those little bodies, than but one in the Trunk of a Cedar?] That is, the *vegetative*, which, according to the common opinion, is supposed to be in *Trees*, though the *Epetures* and *Stoiques* would not allow any Soul in Plants, but *Empedocles* and *Plato* allowed them not onely a *vegetative* Soul, but affirm'd them to be *Animals*. The *Manichees* went farther, and attributed so much of the rational soul to them, that they accounted

it *Homicide* to gather either their flowers or fruit, as St. *Aug.* reports.

We carry with us the wonders we seek without us.] So St. *Aug. l.* 10. *de civ. c.* 3. *Omni miraculo quod fit per hominem majus miraculum est homo.*

Sect. 14. Pag. 31. *Another of his servant Nature, that publique and universal Manuscript, that lies expansed,* &c.] So is the description of *Du Bartas* 7. *jour de la sepm.*

Oyes ce Docteur meut est udie en ce livre
Qui nuict & jour ou vert t' apprendra de bien
[*vivre.*

All things are artificial, for Nature is the Art of God.] So Mr. *Hobbs* in his *Leviathan (in initio)* Nature is the Art whereby God governs the World.

Sect. 17. Pag. 34. *Directing the operations of single and individual Essences,* &c.] Things singular, or individuals, are in the opinion of Philosophers not to be known but by the way of sense, or by that which knows by its Essence, and that is onely God. The Devils have no such knowledge, because whatsoever knows so, is either the

the cauſe or effect of the thing known; thereupon *Averroes* concluded that God was the cauſe of all things, becauſe he underſtands all things by his Eſſence; and *Albertus Magnus* concluded, That the inferiour Intelligence underſtands the ſuperiour, becauſe it is an effect of the ſuperiour: but neither of theſe can be ſaid of the *Devil*; for it appears he is not the effect of any of theſe inferiour things, much leſs is he the cauſe, for the power of Creation onely belongs to God.

All cannot be happy at once, becauſe the Glory of one State depends upon the ruine of another.] This Theme is ingeniouſly handled by Mr. *Montaigne livr.* 1. *des Eſſ. cap.* 22. the Title whereof is, *Le profit de l'un eſt dommage de l' autre.*

'Tis the common fate of men of ſingular gifts of Mind, to be deſtitute of thoſe of Fortune.] So *Petron. Arbiter. Amor ingenii neminem unquam divitem fecit*, in *Satyric.* And *Apuleius* in Apolog. *Idem mihi etiam*, (ſaith he) *paupertatem opprobravit acceptum Philoſopho crimen & ultro* Sect. 18. Pag. 39.

profitendum; and then a little afterwards, he ſheweth that it was the common fate of thoſe that had ſingular gifts of mind: *Eadem enim eſt paupertas apud Græcos in Ariſtide juſta, in Phocyone benigna, in Epaminonde ſtrenua, in Socrate ſapiens, in Homero diſerta.*

We need not labour with ſo many arguments to confute Judicial Aſtrology.] There is nothing in judicial *Aſtrology* that may render it impious; but the exception againſt it is, That it is vain and fallible; of which any man will be convinced, that has read *Tully de Divinat.* and St. *Aug.* 5 *book de Civ. Dei.*

Sect. 19. Pag. 41. *There is in our Soul a kind of Triumvirate —— that diſtracts the peace of our Commonwealth, not leſs than did that other the State of* Rome.] There were two *Triumvirates*, by which the peace of *Rome* was diſtracted; that of *Craſſus*, *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, of which *Lucan*, *l.* 1.

——Tu cauſam aliorum
Facta tribus Dominis communis Roma, nunquam
In turbam miſſi feralia fœdera Regni.

and

and that other of *Auguſtus, Antonius,* and *Lepidus,* by whom ſaith *Florus, Reſpublica convulſa eſt laceratáque,* which comes ſomewhat near the Author's words, and therefore I take it that he means this laſt Triumvirate.

Would diſſwade my belief from the miracle of the brazen Serpent.] Vid. *Coqueum in l.* 10. Aug. *de Civ. Dei, c.* 8.

And bid me miſtruſt a miracle in Elias, *&c.*] The hiſtory is 18. 1 *Reg.* it ſhould be *Elijah.* The Author in 15. *cap.* 7. *lib, Pſeudodox,* ſheweth it was not perform'd naturally; he was (as he ſaith) a perfect miracle.

To think the combuſtion of Sodom *might be natural,*] Of that opinion was *Strabo,* whereupon he is reprehended by *Genebrard* in theſe words: *Strabo falſus eſt —— dum everſionem addicit ſulphuri & bitumini è terra erumpentibus, quæ erat aſſignanda Cœlo,* i. e. *Deo irato. Tacitus* reports it according to the Bible, *fulminis ictu arſiſſe.*

Thoſe that held Religion was the difference of Man from Beaſts, &c.] *Lactantius* was one of thoſe: *Religioni ergo ſerviendum eſt, quam qui* Sect. 20. Pag. 43.

non suscipit, ipse se prosternit in terram, & vitam pecudum secutus humanitate se abdicat. Lactant. *de fals. Sapientia, cap.* 10.

The Doctrine of Epicurus *that denied the Providence of God, was no Atheism, but* &c.] I doubt not but he means that delivered in his Epistle to *Menecæus*, and recorded by *Diogenes Laertius*, lib. 10. *Quod beatum æternumque est, id nec habet ipsum negotii quicquam, nec exhibet alteri, itaque neque ira, neque gratia tenetur, quod quæ talia sunt imbecillia sunt omnia*; which the *Epicurean* Poet hath delivered almost in the same words.

Omnis enim per se divum natura necesse'st
Immortali ævo summa cum pace fruatur,
Semota à nostris rebus sejunctaq; longè:
Nam privata dolore omni, privata periclis
Ipsa suis pollens opibus nihil indiga nostri
Nec bene pro meritis capitur, nec tangitur ira.
Lucret. *lib.* 2.

* *That Villain and Secretary of Hell, that composed that miscreant piece of the three Impostors.*] It was *Ochinus* that composed this piece; but

but there was no leſs a man than the Emperour *Frederick* the Second, that was as laviſh of his Tongue, as the other of his Pen; *Cui ſæpe in ore, Tres fuiſſe inſignes Impoſtores, qui genus humanum ſeduxerunt, Moyſem, Chriſtum, Mahumitem. Lipſ. monit. & exempl. Politic. cap.* 4. And a greater than he, Pope *Leo* the Tenth, was as little favourable to our Saviour, when he us'd that Speech which is reported of him, *Quantas nobis divitias comparavit iſta de Chriſto fabula!*

There are in Scriptures ſtories that do exceed the Fables of Poets.] So the Author of *Relig. Laici. Certè mira admodum in S. S. plus quàm in reliquis omnibus Hiſtoriis traduntur*; (and then he concludes with the Author) *ſed quæ non retundunt intellectum, ſed exercent.* Sect. 21. Pag. 46.

Iet raiſe no queſtion who ſhall riſe with that rib at the Reſurrection.] The Author *cap.* 2. *l.* 7. *Pſeudodox.* ſheweth that it appears in Anatomy, that the ribs of Men and Woman are equal.

Whether the World were created in

Autumn, Summer, or the Spring, &c.] In this matter there is a content betwixt two learned Poets, *Lucretius* and *Virgil*, that it begins in *Spring*.

At novitas mundi nec frigora dura ciebat,
Nec nimios æstus, nec magnis viribus aurai,
Lucretius,

Which he would have to be understood of *Autumn*, because that resembles old age rather than Infancy. He speaks expresly of the Fowls.

Principio genus alituum variaq; volucres
Ova relinquebant exclusa tempore verno.
Lucret,

Then for *Virgil*.

Non alios prima nascentis origine mundi
Illuxisse dies aliumve habuisse tenorem
Crediderim, ver illud erat, ver magnus agebat
Orbis, & hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri.
Virgil. 2. Georgic.

But there is great difference about it betwixt Church-Doctors, some agreeing with these Poets, and others affirming the time to be Autumn: but truly, in strict speaking, it was not created in any one, but all of the seasons

seasons, as the Author saith here, and hath shewed at large, *Pseudodox. Epidemic. lib. 6. cap. 2.*

'Tis ridiculous to put off or drown the general floud of Noah *in that particular inundation of* Deucalion,] as the Heathen some of them sometimes did: *Confuderunt igitur sæpe Ethnici particularia illa diluvia, quæ longè post secuta sunt, cum illo universali quod præcessit, ut ex fabulis in Diluvio Deucalionæo sparsis colligere licet; non tamen semper nec ubique. Author. Observat. in Mytholog. Nat. Com.* Then amongst those that confound them, he reckons *Ovid* and *Plutarch.* Sect. 22. *Pag.* 49.

How all the kinds of Creatures, not onely in their own bulks, but with a competency of food and sustenance, might be preserved in one Ark, and within the extent of 300 *Cubits, to a reason that rightly examines it will appear very feasible.*] Yet *Apelles*, the Disciple of *Mercion*, took upon him to deride the History of *Moses* in this particular, alledging that it must needs be a fable, for that it was impossible so many creatures should be

be contain'd in ſo ſmall a ſpace. *Origen* and St. *Aug.* to anſwer this pretended difficulty, alleadge, that *Moſes* in this place ſpeaks of Geometrical (and not vulgar) cubits, of which every one was as much as ſix vulgar ones, and ſo no difficulty. But *Perer. l.* 10. *com. in Geneſ. quæſt.* 5. *de arca*, rejects this opinion of *Origen*, as being both againſt reaſon and Scripture: 1. Becauſe that ſort of Cubit was never in uſe amongſt any people, and therefore abſurd to think *Moſes* ſhould intend it in this place. 2. If *Moſes* ſhould not ſpeak of the ſame Cubits here, that he mentions in other places, there would be great æquivocation in Scripture: now in another place, *i.e. Exod.* 27. he ſaith God commanded him to make an *Altar* three Cubits high; which if it ſhould be intended of Geometrical Cubits, it will contain 18 vulgar Cubits; which would not only render it uſeleſs, but would be contrary to the command which he ſaith God gave him, *Exod.* 20. *Thou ſhalt not go up by ſteps to my Altar.* For without ſteps what man could

could reach it? it must therefore be meant of ordinary Cubits; but that being so it was very feasible. I can more easily believe than understand it.

And put the honest Father to the Refuge of a Miracle.] This honest Father was St. *Aug.* who delivers his opinion, that it might be miraculously done, *lib.* 16. *de Civ. Dei, cap.* 7. where having propos'd the question how it might be done, he answers, *Quod si homines eas captas secum adduxerunt, & eo modo ubi habitabant earum genera instituerunt, venandi studio fieri potuisse incredibile non est, quam jussu Dei sive permissu etiam opera Angelorum negandum non sit potuisse transferri*; but St. *Aug.* saith not, that it could not be done without a miracle.

And 1500 *years to people the World, as full a time*, &c.]

That Methusalem *was the longest liv'd of all the children of Adam*, &c.] See both these points cleared by the Author, in *Pseudodox. Epidemic.* the first, *lib.* 6. *cap.* 6. the other *l.* 7. *cap.* 3.

That

That Judas *perished by hanging himself, there is no certainty in Scripture, though in one place it seems to affirm it, and by a doubtful word hath given occasion to translate it: yet in another place, in a more punctual description it makes it improbable, and seems to overthrow it.*] These two places that seem to contradict one another, are *Matthew* 27. 5. and *Acts* 1. 8. The doubtful word he speaks of is in the place of *Matthew*; it is ἀπήγξατο, which signifieth suffocation as well as hanging (ἀπελθὼν ἀπήγξατο which may signifie literally, after he went out he was choak'd) but *Erasmus* translates it, *abiens laqueo se suspendit:* the words in the *Acts* are, *When he had thrown down himself headlong, he burst in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out,* which seems to differ much from the expression of *Matthew*; yet the ancient Writers, and Fathers of the Church do unanimously agree that he was hanged; some I shall cite. *Anastas. Sinaita. l. 7. Anagog. Contempl. Unus latro ingratus cum esset typus Diaboli, & Serpentis, & Judæ qui*

qui se in ligno suffocavit. Gaudentius Brixiens. tract. 13. de natal. Dom. Mortem debitam laqueo sibimet intulit præparato, &c. *Drogottosheu. de sacram. dominic. pass. Jamdiu erat quidem quòd Christo recesserat, & avaritiæ laqueo se suspenderat, sed quod fecerat in occulto, palam omnibus innotuit. S. Martialis in Ep. ad Tholosanos. Non sustinuit pœnitentiam, donec laqueo mortis seipsum consumpsit. Ignat. ad Philippens. Diabolus laqueum ei ostendit, & suspendium docuit.* Leo. *Serm. 3. de passion.* —— *ut quia facimus omnem mensuram ultionis excesserat, te haberet impietas tua judicem, te pateretur sua pœna Carnificem. Theodoret. lib. 1. hæretic. fabul. Ille protinus strangulatus est, quæ fuit merces ejus proditionis. Chrysostom. Hom. 3. de proditore. Pependit Cœlum Terramque intermedius vago funere suffocatus, & cum flagitio suo tumefacta, viscera crepuerunt,* &c. Bernard. *serm. 8. in Psalm. 9. Judas in aere crepuit medius.*

There are those that are so particular that they acquaint us with the manner

manner, *as that it was done with a Cord. Antiochus Laurenſis. Spem omnem à ſe cùm abjeciſſet inſiliente in eum inimico (ſc. Diabolo) funiculo ſibi præfocavit gulam Oecumen. in Act. fracto funiculo quo erat ſuffocatus decidit in terram præcipitio,* 2. *That it was done on a* Fig-tree, Beda. *Portam David egredientibus fons occurrit in Auſtrum per vallem directus, ad cujus medietatem ab occaſu Judas ſe ſuſpendiſſe narratur, Nam & ficus magna ibi & vetuſtiſſima ſtat.*

Juvenc. *l.* 4. *Hiſt. Evangelic.*

Exorſuſq; ſuas laqueo ſibi ſumere pœnas,
Informem rapuit ficus de vertice mortem.

3. Some acquaint us with the time when it was done, *viz.* the *next day after he had given the kiſs.* So *Chryſoſtom. Homil.* 1. *de proditor. & myſterio Cœn. Dominic. Guttur prophanum quod hodie Chriſto extendit ad oſculum, craſtinò es illud extenſurus ad laqueum.* But there are two, that is, *Euthymius* and *Oecumenius*, that tells us, *that the hanging did*

did not kill him; but that either the rope broke, or that he was cut down, and afterwards caſt himſelf down headlong, as it is related in the before-mentioned place of the *Acts*: *Agnitus à quibuſdam depoſitus eſt ne præfocaretur, denique poſtquam in ſecreto quodam loco modico vixiſſet tempore præceps factus ſive præcipitatus, inflatus, diruptus, ac diffiſus eſt medius, & effuſa ſunt omnia viſcera ejus; ut in Actis. Euthym. cap.* 67. *in Matth. Judæ ſuſpendio è vita non diſceſſit, ſed ſupervixit, dejectus eſt enim priuſquam præfocaretur, idque Apoſtolorum Acta indicant quod pronus crepuit medius. Oecumen. in Act.* And this may ſerve to reconcile theſe two ſeemingly diſagreeing Scriptures.

That our Fathers after the Flood erected the Tower of Babel.] For this ſee what the Author ſaith in his *Pſeudodox. Epidemic. l.* 7. *cap.* 6.

And cannot but commend the judgment of Ptolemy.] He means of *Ptolemæus Philadelphus*, who founded the Library of *Alexandria*, which he ſpeaks of in the Sect. 23. *Pag.* 52.

next

next Section, he was King of *Egypt*
and having built and furnish'd the
Library with all the choicest book
he could get from any part of the
World; and having good correspon
dence with *Eleazar* the High Priest
of the *Jews*, by reason that he had re
leased the *Jews* from Captivity, wh
were taken by his Predecessor *Pto
lemæus Lagi*; he did by the advic
of *Demetrius Phalereus* the *Athenia*
whom he had made his Library
keeper, write to *Eleazer*, desiring
him that he would cause the Book
of the *Jews*, which contained their
Laws, to be translated for him int
Greek, that he might have them
put into his Library: to which th
Priest consents; and for the King
better satisfaction, sends to him Co
pies of the Books, and with the same
72 Interpreters skilled both in the
Greek and Hebrew Language, t
translate them for him into Greek
which afterwards they performed
This is for certain; but whether they
translated onely the *Pentateuch*,
St. *Jerome* would have it, or toge
ther with that the books of the Pro
phet

phets alſo, as *Leo de Caſtro* and *Bonius* contend, I undertake not to determine: but as to that part of the ſtory, that theſe Interpreters were put into ſo many ſeveral Cells, whilſt they were about the work of tranſlation; and notwithſtanding they were thus ſevered, that they all tranſlated it *totidem verbis*; it is but reaſon to think with St. *Jerome* (notwithſtanding the great current of Authority againſt him) that it is no better than a fable.

The Alcoran of the Turks (I ſpeak without prejudice) is an ill compoſed piece, containing in it vain and ridiculous errors in Philoſophy, &c.] It is now in every man's hand, having been lately tranſlated into Engliſh; I ſhall therefore obſerve but theſe few particulars in it, in regard the Book it ſelf is ſo common; and indeed they are not mine own, but *Lipſius* his obſervations. He begins, *O nugas, O deliria! primum* (ſaith he) *commentus eſt, Deum unum ſolidumq; (ὀλόσφυρον Græci exprimunt) eundemq; incorporeum eſſe. Chriſtum non Deum, ſed magnum vatem &*

prophetam, ſe tamen majorem, & proxime à Deo miſſum; præmia qui ipſum audient Paradiſum, qui poſt aliquot annorum millia reſerabitur, ibi quatuor flumina lacte, vino, melle, aqua fluere, ibi palatia & ædificia gemmata atque aurata eſſe, carnes avium ſuaviſſimarum, fructus omne genus quos ſparſi jacenteſque ſub umbra arborum edent: ſed caput fœlicitatis, viros fœminaſque majores ſolito magnis Genitalibus, aſſidua libidine, & ejus uſu ſine tædio aut fatigatione. Theſe and ſome others that are in the Alcoran he reckons up. *Sed & Phyſica quoque mirando* (ſaith he) *nam facit Solem & Lunam in equis vehi, illum autem in aquam calidam veſpere mergi, & bene lotum aſcendere atque oriri, Stellas in aere è catenis aureis pendere: terram in bovini cornu cuſpide ſtabilitum, & agitente ſe bove ac ſuccutiente fieri terræ motum; hominem autem ex hirudine aut ſanguiſuga naſci, &c.* Juſt. Liſp. *Monit. & exempl. Politic.* cap. 3.

I believe beſides Zoroaſter, *there were divers others that wrote before Moſes.*

Moſes.] *Zoroaſter* was long before *Moſes*, and of great name; he was the Father of *Ninus*, *Juſtin. l.* 1. *Si quamlibet modicum emolumentum probaveritis, ego ille ſim Carinondas, vel Damigeron, vel is Moſes, vel Jannes, vel Appollonius, vel ipſe Dardanus, vel quicunq; alius poſt* Zoroaſtrem *& Hoſtanem inter Magos celebratus eſt.* Apuleius *in* Apol,

Others with as many groans deplore the combuſtion of the Library of Alexandria.] This was that Library before ſpoken of, ſet up by *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*; in which 'tis reported by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, there were 700000 volumes; it was burnt by *Jul. Cæſar*'s means, whoſe Navy being environed before *Alexandria*, he had no means to keep off the Enemy, but by flinging of fire, which at length caught the Library and conſumed it, as *Plutarch* has it in *Vita Cæſaris*: but notwithſtanding we have no reaſon to believe it was quite conſumed, becauſe *Sueton.* in *Claudius*, tells us, that that Emperor added another to it; and there muſt be ſomewhat before, if

it were an addition; but true it is, too many of the Books perished: to repair which loss, care was taken by *Domitian* the Emperour, as the same *Sueton.* and *Aurel. Victor* do relate.

I would not omit a copy of Enoch's *Pillars, had they many nearer Authors than* Josephus, *&c.*] For this the Story is, that *Enoch*, or his father *Seth*, having been inform'd by *Adam*, that the World was to perish once by water, and a second time by fire, did cause two Pillars to be erected, the one of Stone against the water, and another of Brick against the fire; and that upon those Pillars was engraven all such learning as had been delivered to, or invented by mankind; and that thence it came that all knowledge and learning was not lost by means of the Floud, by reason that one of the Pillars (though the other perished) did remain after the Floud; and *Josephus* witnesseth, till his time, *lib.* 1. *Antiq. Judaic.* cap. 3.

Of those three great inventions of Germany, *there are two which are not without their incommodities*] those

two he means are *Printing* and *Gunpowder*, which are commonly taken to be *German* Inventions; but Artillery was in *China* above 1500 years since, and Printing long before it was in *Germany*, if we may believe *Juan Concales Mendoſa* in his *Hiſt.* of *China*, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 15, 16. The incommodities of theſe two inventions, are well deſcribed by *Sam. Daniel*, *l.* 6. of the Civil Wars.

Fierce Nemeſis, *mother of fate and change,*
Sword-bearer of th' eternal providence,
Turns her ſtern look at laſt into the Weſt,
As griev'd to ſee on Earth ſuch happy reſt;
And for Pandora *calleth preſently,*
Pandora Jove's *fair gift, that firſt deceived,*
Poor Epimetheus *in his imbecility.*
That though he had a wondrous boon received,
By means whereof curious mortality
Was of all former quiet quite bereaved.
To whom being come deckt with all qualities,
The wrathful goddeſs breaks out in this wiſe:
Doſt thou not ſee in what ſecure eſtate
Thoſe flouriſhing fair Weſtern parts remain?
As if they had made covenant with fate,
To be exempted free from others pain,
At one with their deſires, friends with debate,
In peace with Pride, content with their own gain.

Their bounds contain their mindes, their
mindes applied
To have their bonds with plenty beautified.
Devotion (Mother of Obedience)
Bears such a hand on their credulity,
That it abates the spirit of eminence,
And busies them with humble piety:
For see what works, what infinite expence,
What Monuments of zeal they edifie,
As if they would, so that no stop were found,
Fill all with Temples, make all holy ground.
But we must cool this all-believing zeal,
That hath enjoy'd so fair a turn so long &c.
Dislike of this first by degrees shall steal,
As upon souls of men perswaded wrong;
And that the sacred power which thus hath
wrought,
Shall give her self the sword to cut her throat.
Go therefore thou with all thy stirring train
Of swelling Scientes (the gifts of grief)
Go loose the links of that soul-binding chain,
Inlarge this uninquisitive Belief:
Call up mens spirits, that simpleness retain,
Enter their hearts, and knowledge make the
Thief
To open all the doors to let in light,
That all may all things see, but what is right.
Opinion arm against opinion (grown)
Make new-born contradictions still arise (soun
As if Thebes Founder (Cadmus) tongues had
Instead of teeth, for greater mutinies:
Bring new defended faith against faith known
Weary the soul with contrarieties,

Till

Till all Religion become Retrograde,
And that fair tye the mask of sin be made.
And better to effect a speedy end,
Let there be found two fatal Instruments,
The one to publish, th' other to defend Printing.
Impious contention, and proud discontents:
Make that instamped characters may send
Abroad to thousands, thousand mens intents;
And in a moment may dispatch much more,
Than could a world of pens perform before;
Whereby all quarrels, titles, secrecies
May unto all be presently made known,
Factions prepar'd, parties allur'd to rise,
Seditions under fair pretences sown;
Whereby the vulgar may become so wise,
That with a self-presumption overgrown,
They may of deepest mysteries debate,
Controul their betters, censure acts of State.
And then when this dispersed mischief shall
Have brought confusion in each mystery,
Call'd up contempts of State in general,
And ripen'd the humour of impiety,
Then take the other engine wherewithal Guns.
They may torment their self-wrought misery;
And scourge each other in so strange a wise,
As time or tyrants never could devise, &c.

See *Bellermontan.* in his *Dissertat. politic. dissert.* 29. and 30.

For the other Invention, the Latine Annotator doubts whether the

Author means Church-Organs, or Clocks? I suppose he means Clocks, because I find that Invention reckon'd by a *German*, with the other two, as a remarkable one. It is by *Busbequius*, speaking of the Turks, who hath these words: *Testes majores minoresque bombardæ, multaque alia quæ ex nostris excogitata ipsi ad se avertunt; ut libros tamen typis excuderunt, horologia in publico haberent, nondum adduci potuerunt. Epist. Legat. Turcic.* I suppose if he had known any Invention which next to the other two had been greater than this, he would not have named this; and this being the next considerable, we have no cause to doubt but the Author meant it.

To maintain the Trade and Mystery of Typographers.] Of this, *Cunæus* in his *Satyre Sardi vænales. Qui bis in anno nomen suum ad Germanorum nundinas non transmittit, eruditionem suam in ordinem coactam credit, itaq; nunquam tot fungi una pluvia nascuntur, quot nunc libri uno die.*

Sect. 44. Pag. 94. *The Turk in the bulk he now stands, is beyond all hope of conversion.*] That is,

is, in respect of his great strength, against which it is not probable the Christians will prevail, as it is observed by *Monsieur de Silhon. La Race des Ottomans* (saith he) *quæ oste à Dieu la Religion qu'il a revelee, & aux hommes la liberte que le droit des Gens leur laisse à fait tant de progres depuis trois Cens & quelques annees qu'il semble qu'elle n'ait plus rien a craindre de dehorse, & que son empire ne puisse perir que par la corruption de dedans, & par la dissolution de parties qui composent un corps si vaste. Mr. de Silhon en son Minist. d' Estat. l.* 1. *c.*

None can more justly boast of persecutions, and glory in the number and valour of martyrs.] Of the fortitude of the Christians in this particular, *Minutius Felix*, in the person of the Ethnique, hath these words: *Permira stultitia & incredibili audacia spernunt tormenta præsentia, dum incerta metuunt & futura ; & dum mori post mortem timent, interim mori non timent.* And afterwards, when he speaks in the person of the Christian, he saith, that Christian-women

women and children have in this surpassed *Scævola* and *Regulus*: *Viros* (saith he) *cum Mutio vel cum Atilio Regulo comparo: pueri & mulierculæ nostræ cruces & Tormenta, fera & omnes suppliciorum terriculas inspirata patientia doloris illudunt.* Minut. *in* Octav. *vide Aug. de Civ. Dei, l.* 1. *c.* 23, 24.

If we shall strictly examine the circumstances and requisites which Aristotle *requires to true and perfect valour, we shall find the name onely in his Master* Alexander, *(that is, no more than the name) and as little in that Roman Worthy* Julius Cæsar.] *Aristot.* 3. *Ethic. cap.* 6. amongst other requisites, requires to valour, that it keep a mediocrity betwixt audacity and fear; that we thrust not our selves into danger when we need not; that we spare not to shew our valour when occasion requires: He requires for its proper object, Death; and to any death, he prefers death in war, because thereby a man profits his Country and Friends; and that he calls *mors honesta*, an honest or honourable death: and there-

upon

thereupon he defines a valiant man to be, *Is qui, morte honesta proposita, iisque omnibus quæ cum sint repentina mortem adferunt metu vacat.* So that by the Author's saying, there was onely the name in *Alexander*, he means onely that which is rendred in the two last words, *metu vacans*, and not the rest that goes to make up the definition of a valiant man, which is very truely affirmed of *Alexander*, who exposed himself to hazzard many times when there was no cause for it: As you may read in *Curtius*, he did, in the Siege of *Tyrus*, and many other ways. *Cettuy-cy semble recercher & courir a force les dangiers comme un impeteux torrent, qui choque & attaque sans discretion, & sans chois tout ce qu'l rencontre*, saith *Montaign*, speaking of *Alexander*, l. 2. *des Ess.* cap. 34. And for *Cæsar*, it cannot be denied, but in his Wars he was many times (though not so generally as *Alexander*) more adventurous than reason military could warrant to him; and therefore *Lucan* gives him no better character than

Acer

Acer & indomitus quo ſpes quoque ira vocaſſet Ferre manum, &c.

Lucan. lib. 1.

To inſtance in ſome particulars: with what an inconſiderable ſtrength did he enterprize the Conqueſt of *Egypt*, and afterwards went to attaque the Forces of *Scipio* and *Juba*, which were ten times more than his own? after the Battle of *Pharſalia*, having ſent his Army before into *Aſia*, and croſſing the Helleſpont with one ſingle veſſel, he there meets *Lucius Caſſius* with ten men of War, he makes up to him, ſummons him to render, and he does it. In the famous and furious ſiege of *Alexia*; where he had 80000 men to make defence againſt him, and an Army of one hundred and nine thouſand horſe, and two hundred and forty thouſand foot, all marching towards him, to raiſe his ſiege; yet for all that, he would not quit the ſiege, but firſt fought with thoſe without, and obtain'd a great Victory over them, and ſoon afterwards brought the beſieged to his mercy.

The

The Council of Constance *condemns* John Huſſe *for an Heretick; the Stories of his own Party ſtyle him a Martyr.*] *John Huſſe* did agree with the Papiſts againſt us in the point of Invocation of Saints, Prayers and Sacrifice for the Dead, free Will, good Works, confeſſion of Sins, ſeven Sacraments, &c. *Gordon. Hunt. l. contr.* 3. *de Sacr. Euch. cap.* 17. Yet was he condemned for maintaining certain Articles ſaid by that Council to be heretical and ſeditious, and was burnt for Hereſie. Now as I will not take upon me to ſay he was an *Heretick*, ſo can I not maintain that he was a *Martyr*, if it be but for this one Article, which in the 15 Seſſ. of that Council was objected againſt him, which he did acknowledge, but would not recal, *i. e. Nullus eſt Dominus civilis, dum eſt in peccato mortali.* If that Doctrine ſhould be believed, we ſhall have little obedience to Civil Magiſtrates; and without that, how miſerable is humane condition? That which begat compaſſion towards *Huſſe* in thoſe of his own Party

Sect. 26. Pag. 58.

Party was, that he had a safe conduct from the Emperour *Sigismund*; and therefore it was, say they, a violation of publick faith in the *Council* and *Emperour* in putting him to death.

That wise Heathen Socrates *that suffered on a fundamental point of Religion, the Unity of God.*] That *Socrates* suffered on this point, divers Christian Writers do object to the Ethniques, as *Justin Martyr*, Apol. 2. *Euseb.* l. 5. *de præparat. Evangelic.* c. 14. *Tertul.* in *Apolog.* cap. 14. and *Lactant. de justitia*, cap. 15. whose words are these: *Plato quidem multa de uno Deo locutus est, à quo ait constitutum esse mundum, sed nihil de Religione; somniaverat enim Deum, non cognoverat. Quod si justitiæ defensionem vel ipse vel quilibet alius implere voluisset, imprimis Deorum Religiones evertere debuit, quia contrariæ pietati. Quod quidem Socrates quia facere tentavit in carcerem conjectus est, ut jam tum appareret quid esset futurum iis hominibus qui justitiam veram defendere, Deoque singulari servire cœpissent.*

I

I have often pitied the miserable Bishop that suffered in the cause of Antipodes.] The suffering was, that he lost his Bishoprick for denying the *Antipodes*. Vid. *Aventin. in Hist. Boio.* Besides him, there were other Church men of great note, that denied *Antipodes*, as *Lactantius*, *Augustin*; and *Bede*.

I hold that God can do all things : How he should work contradictions, I do not understand, yet dare not therefore deny.] Who would not think the Author had taken this from Mr, *Montaign*, whose words are, *Il m'a tous jours semble qu'a un homme Christien, cette sorte de parler est plein d' indiscretion & d'irreverence* [*Dieu ne se peut disdire,*] [*Dieu ne peuit faire cecy ou cela.*] *je ne trouve pas bon d'enfermer ainsi la puissance divine sous les loix de nostre parole. Et l'apparence qui s' offre à nous en ses propositions, il la faudroit representer plus reverement, & plus Religieusement.* Liv. 2. des Ess. c. 12. Sect. 27. Pag.

I cannot see why the Angel of God should question Esdras *to recal the time past, if it were beyond his own power,*

power, or that God ſhould poſe mortality in that which he was not able to perform himſelf.] Sir *K. Digby* in his Notes upon this place ſaith, There is no contradiction in this, becauſe he ſaith it was but putting all things that had motion into the ſame ſtate they were in at that moment, unto which time was to be reduced back, and from thence letting it travel on again by the ſame motions, &c. which God could do. But under favour, the contradiction remains, if this were done that he mentions; for Time depends not at all upon motion, but has a being altogether independent of it, and therefore the ſame revolution would not bring back the ſame time, for that was efflux'd before; as in the time of *Joſhua*, when the Sun ſtood ſtill, we cannot but conceive though there were no motion of the Sun, but that there was an efflux of Time, otherwiſe, how could the Text have it, *That there was not any day, before or after, that was ſo long as that?* for the length of it muſt be underſtood in reſpect of the flux of time.

The

The reaſoning of Sir *Kenelme* is founded upon the opinion of *Ariſtot.* who will needs have it, that Time, cannot be without mutation; he gives this for a reaſon, becauſe when we have ſlept, and cannot perceive any mutation to have been, we do therefore uſe to connect the time of our ſleeping and of our awaking together, and make but one of it: to which it may be anſwered, although ſome mutation be neceſſary, that we may mark the flux of time, it doth not therefore follow that the mutation is neceſſary to the flux it ſelf.

I excuſe not Conſtantine *from a fall off his Horſe, or a miſchief from his enemies, upon the wearing thoſe nails,* &c.] *Hac de re videatur P. Diac. hiſt. miſcell.* Sect. 28. Pag. 62.

I wonder how the curioſity of wiſer heads could paſs that great and indiſputable miracle, the ceſſation of Oracles.[There are three opinions touching the manner how the predictions of theſe Oracles were perform'd: Some ſay by vapour, ſome by the intelligences, or influences of the Heavens, and others Sect. 29. Pag. 63.

say by the assistance of the Devils. Now the indisputable miracle the Author speaks of, is, that they ceas'd upon the coming of Christ; and it is generally so believed; and the Oracle of *Delphos* delivered to *Augustus*, mentioned by the Author in this Section, is brought to prove it, which is this:

Me puer Hebræus divos Deus ipse gubernans
Cedere sede jubet, tristemq; redire sub orcum.
Aris ergo dehinc tacitus discedito nostris.

But yet it is so far from being true that their cessation was miraculous, that the truth is, there never were any predictions given by those Oracles at all.

That their cessation was not upon the coming of Christ, we have luculent testimony out of *Tully*, in his 2. *lib. de Divinat.* which he writ many years before Christ was born; who tells us that they were silent (and indeed he never thought they were otherwise) long before that time, insomuch that they were come into contempt: *Cur isto modo jam oracula Delphis non eduntur, non modo nostra*

ſtra ætate; ſed jamdiù jam ut nihil poſſit eſſe contemptius. So that for that of *Delphos*, which was the moſt famous of them all, we ſee we have no reaſon to impute the ceſſation of it to Chriſt; Why therefore ſhould we do ſo for any of the reſt?

2. For their predictions, let us conſider the three ſeveral ways before mentioned, whereby they are ſuppoſed to operate; and from thence ſee whether it be probable that any ſuch Oracles ever were.

The firſt Opinion is, that it was by exhalation or vapour drawn up from the earth; and gives this for a reaſon of their being, that they were for a time nouriſhed by thoſe exhalations; and when thoſe ceaſed, and were exhauſted, the Oracles famiſh'd and died for want of their accuſtom'd ſuſtenance: this is the farſetcht reaſon given by *Plutarch* for their defect; but 'twas not deviſed by him, but long before, as appears, in that *Tully* ſcoffs at it, *lib. de divinat. De vino aut ſalſamento putes loqui* (ſaith he) *quæ evaneſcunt vetuſtate.* This ſeem'd abſurd to others,

who do therefore say this was not to be attributed to any power of the Earth, but to the power of the Heavens, or *Intelligences Cæleſtial*; to certain aſpects, whereof, they ſay, the Statua's of thoſe Oracles were ſo adapted, that they might divine and foretel future events. But yet to others, this way ſeemeth as abſurd as the others; for, ſay they, admitting that there were an efficacy in the Heavens, more than in the Earth; yet how can it be that men ſhould come by the skill to fit the Statua's to the Aſpects or influences of the Heavens? or if at any time they had ſuch skill, why ſhould not the ſame continue the rather, becauſe men are more skilled in the motions of the Heavens, of later than in the former time? Again, they do not ſee how it ſhould be that the cauſe ſhould be of leſs excellency than the effect; for if a man (ſay they) can by his induſtry make ſuch Oracles, why can he not produce the ſame effect in another man? for if you affirm that the Heavens influence is requiſite, they will tell you

you that Influence may happen as well to a man, as to a Statue of wood or ſtone. Therefore the third ſort being unſatisfied, which either of the former ways conclude, that this was perform'd by the Devil; but for that it will appear as contrary to Reaſon and Philoſophy, as either of the former; for Philoſophy teacheth that things ſingular, or individual, are to be known only by ſenſe, or by ſuch an Intellect, as doth know by its Eſſence; and Theology teacheth that God only knoweth the heart, and that the Devil doth not know by ſenſe, nor by eſſence; and ſince 'tis admitted by all, that moſt of the anſwers that were pretended to be given by thoſe Oracles, were *de rebus ſingularibus*, or *individuis*; it is evident that theſe predictions were not perform'd by Devils. How then? why thoſe predictions which the ignorant Heathen took to come from Heaven, and ſome Chriſtians (not leſs ignorant) from the Devil, was nothing but the jugling and impoſtures of the Prieſts, who from with-

in the Statua's gave the anſwers; which Princes connived at, that they might upon occaſion ſerve their turns upon the ignorance of the people; and the learned men, for fear of their Princes, durſt not ſpeak againſt it. *Lucian* hath noted it, and ſo a more authentick Author, *Minut. Felix*, in *Octav.* *Authoritatem quaſi præſentis numinis conſequuntur dum inſpirantur interim vatibus.* But in proceſs of time, the people grew leſs credulous of their Prieſts, and ſo the Oracles became to be ſilent: *Cum jam* (ſaith he) *Apollo verſus facere deſiiſſet, cujus tunc cautum illud & ambiguum defecit oraculum: Cum & politiores homines & mixtis creduli eſſe cæperunt.* Sir *H. Blount* in his *Levantine* voyage, ſaith he ſaw the Statua of *Memnon* ſo famous of old; he ſaith it was hollow at top, and that he was told by the *Egyptians* and Jews there with him, that they had ſeen ſome enter there, and come out at the Pyramid, two Bows ſhoot off; then (ſaith he) I ſoon believ'd the Oracle, and believe all the reſt to have been ſuch; which indeed,

is

is much easier to imagine than that it was perform'd by any of the three ways before mentioned: St. *Aug.* hath composed a Book, where he handleth this point at large, and concludeth that the Devils can no more foretel things to come, than they are able to discern the thoughts that are within us. *Aug. lib. de Scientia Dæmon.*

Till I laughed my self out of it with a piece of Justin, *where he delivers that the Children of* Israel *for being scabbed were banished out of Egypt.*] These words of *Justin* are, *Sed cum scabiem Ægyptii & pruriginem paterentur, responso moniti, eum (sc. Moysen) cum ægris, ne pestis ad plures serperet, terminis Ægypti pellunt. l.* 36. But he is not singular in this, for *Tacitus* tells us, *Hist. lib.* 5. *Plurimi authores consentiunt orta per Ægyptum tabe quæ corpora fœdaret, Regem (Ochirum)* (he means *Pharoah*) *adito Hammonis oraculo remediam petentem purgare Regnum & id genus hominum —— alias in terras avertere jussum.* Et paulo inferius, *Quod ipsos scabies quondam turpaverat.*

Sect. 30. Pag. 65. *I have ever believed, and do now know that there are Witches.*] What sort of Witches they were that the Author knew to be such, I cannot tell; for those which he mentions in the next Section, which proceed upon the principles of Nature, none have denyed that such there are; against such it was, that the *Lex Julia de veneficiis* was made, that is, those, *Qui noxio poculo aut impuris medicaminibus aliquem fuerint infectati. Al. ab Alex. Gen. Dier.* l. 3. c. 1. But for the opinion that there are Witches which co-operate with the Devil, there are Divines of great note, and far from any suspition of being irreligious, that do oppose it. Certainly there is no ground to maintain their being from the story of Oracles, as may be seen from what hath been said on the precedent Section.

Nor have they power to be so much as Witches.] *Pliny* saith, so it fared with *Nero*, who was so hot in pursuit of the Magick Arts, that he did dedicate himself wholly to it, and yet

yet could never ſatisfie himſelf in that kind, though he got all the cunning men he could from the Eaſt, for that purpoſe, *Plin.* l. 3. *Nat. Hiſt.* c. 1.

By conjunction with the Devil.] Though, as the Author ſaith, it be without a poſſibility of Generation, yet there are great men that hold, that ſuch carnality is performed; as *Auguſt. in Levit. Aquin. l.* 2. *de qu.* 73. *art. ad* 2. and *Juſtin Martyr. Apol.* 1.

It is no new opinion of the Church of Rome, *but an old one of* Pythagoras *and* Plato.] This appears by *Apuleius* a Platoniſt, in his Book *de Deo Socratis*, and elſewhere. See *Mede's Apoſtaſie of the latter times*, where out of this and other Authors, you ſhall ſee collected all the learning *de Geniis.* Sect. 33. *Pag.* 70.

I cannot with thoſe in that great Father ſecurely interpret the work of the firſt day, Fiat lux, *to the creation of Angels.*] This great Father is S. *Chryſoſt. Homil. in Geneſ.* but yet 'tis his opinion, as alſo of *Athanaſius* and *Theodoret*, that there is expreſs

expreſs mention of the creation of Angels, ſo that they need not reſt upon this place, which they admit to be ſomewhat obſcure. The place which they take to be expreſs, is that of the 130 *Pſalm*, where *David* begins to ſpeak of the Majeſty of God, in this manner: *Confeſſionem ſive majeſtatem & decorem induiſti, amictus lumine ſicut veſtimento*: Next he ſpeaks of the Heavens, ſaying, *Thou haſt ſtretched them out over us like a Tent.* Then he ſpeaks of the Angels, *Qui facis Angelos tuos ſpiritus.* Now if it ſhall be objected, that this expreſſion is onely of the time preſent, and without relation to the Creation: Anſwer is given by Divines, that the *Hebrews* have but three Tenſes in their Verbs, the Preterperfect, Preſent, and Future Tenſe; and have not the uſe of the Preterimperfect, and Preterpluperfect, as the *Greeks* and *Latines* have; whence it ariſeth, that the Preſent Tenſe with the *Hebrews*, may, as the ſentence will bear it, be tranſlated by the Preterimperfect, as alſo by the Preterperfect and Preterpluperfect

terpulperfect Tenſe; and this (they ſay) is practiſed in this very paſſage, where the Phraſe, as it is in Hebrew, may be rendred as well *qui facieḃas*, as *qui facis Angelos*, &c. Vid. *Hieronym. in Ep. ad Titum*, & *Thom. Aqu.* 1. *p. qu.* 61. *art.* 3. The Latine Annotator ſaith, the Father meant by the Author, is St. *Aug.* and quotes him, *l.* 11. *de Civ. Dei*, cap. 9. which place I have peruſed, and find the expreſſion there uſed by St. *Aug.* is but hypothetical; for theſe are his words: *Cum enim dixit Fiat lux & facta eſt lux, ſi rectè in hac luce creatio intelligitur Angelorum*, &c. Where you ſee 'tis but with a *Si*, and therefore I conceive the Author intends not him, but *Chryſoſtom.*

Where it ſubſiſts alone, 'tis a Spiritual Subſtance, and may be an Angel,] *Epicurus* was of this opinion, and St. *Aug. in Enchirid. ad Laurentium.*

Moſes *decided that Queſtion, and all is ſalved with the new term of Creation.*] That is it which *Ariſtotle* could not underſtand; he had learned that

that *ex nihilo nihil fit*, and therefore when he found those that disputed that the World had a beginning, did maintain that it was generated, and he could not understand any generation, but out of matter præ-existent *in infinitum*, therefore he took their opinion to be absurd, and upon that ground principally, concluded the World to be eternal: whereas, if he had understood that there may be such a thing as Creation, he had not done it, for that solves his *processus in infinitum*. Take from *Plato*, that the World had a beginning, and from *Aristot.* that it was not generated, and you have the (true) Christian opinion.

Sect. 36. Pag. 80. *In our study of Anatomy, there is a mass of mysterious Philosophy, and such as reduced the very Heathens to Divinity.*] So it did *Galen*, who considering the order, use, and disposition of the parts of the body, brake forth into these words: *Compono hic profectò Canticum in creatoris nostri laudem, quod ultra res suas ornare voluit meliùs quàm ulla arte*

arte posſent. Galen. 3. *de usu partium.*

I cannot believe the wisdom of Pythagoras *did ever positively, and in a literal sense, affirm his* Metempsychosis.] In this the opinion of *Grotius* is contrary to the Author, who saith this opinion was begotten by occasion of the opinion of other Philosophers, who in their discourses of the life that is to be after this, brought such arguments, *Quæ non magis de homine quam de bestiis procedunt.* And therefore, saith he, *mirandum non est, si transitum animarum de hominibus in bestias, de bestiis in homines alii commenti sunt. Lib.* 2. *de ver. Relig. Christ.* (*vide etiam Annotat. ejusd.*) But yet there is a shrewd objection against the opinion of *Pythagoras*, if he did mean it literally, which is cast in by the Sectators of *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, which *Lucretius* remembers in these Verses: Sect. 37. Pag. 81.

Praterea si immortalis natura anima
Constat, & in corpus nascentibus insinuatur,
Cur super ante actam ætatem meminisse nequimus?
Nec vestigia gestarum rerum ulla tenemus?

Nam

Nam si tantoper'st animi mutata potestas,
Omnis ut actarum excideret retinentia rerum,
Non ut opinor ea ab lato jam longiter errat.

This Argument, 'tis true, is *pro falso contra falsum*, but yet holds *ad hominem* so far, that it is not likely (as the Author saith) but *Pythagoras* would observe an absurdity in the consequence of his Metempsychosis; and therefore did not mean it literally, but desired only to express the Soul to be immortal, which he, and the other Philosophers that were of that opinion, who had not heard of Creation, could not conceive, unless it must be taken for truth, that the soul were before the body; so saith *Lactantius* of them. *Non putaverunt aliter fieri posse ut supersint animæ post corpora, nisi videntur fuisse ante corpora. De fals. Sap.* c. 18.

Sect. 41. Pag. 89. *I do not envy the temper of Crows or Daws.*] As *Theophrastus* did, who dying, accused Nature for giving them, to whom it could not be of any concernment, so large a life; and to man, whom it much concern'd,

so

so short a one. *Cic. Tusc. quæst. l.* 3. How long Daws live, see in *Not. ad Sect.* 41.

Not upon Cicero's *ground, because I have liv'd them well.*] I suppose he alludes to an expression in an Epistle of *Cicero*, written in his Exile, to his wife and children, where he hath these words to his wife: *Quod reliquum est, te sustenta mea Terentia ut potes, honestissime viximus, floruimus. Non vitium nostrum sed virtus nos afflixit, peccatum est nullum nisi quod non una animum cum ornamentis amisimus*, l. 24. Ep. 4. Sect. 42. Pag. 91.

And stand in need of Eson's *Bath before threescore.*] *Eson* was the Father of *Jason*, and, at his request, was by *Medea*, by the means of this Bath, restored to his youth. Ingredients that went into it, and the description of *Medea*'s performance *Ovid* gives you, *l.* 7. *Metam.*

Interea calido positum medicamen aheno
Fervet & exultat, spumisq; tumentibus albet.
Illic Æmonia radices valle resectas,
Seminaq; & flores, & succos incoquit atros
Adjicit extremo lapides Oriente petitos,
Et quas Oceani refluum mare lavit arenas:

Addidit

Addidit exceptas lunæ de nocte pruinas,
Et Strigis infames ipsis cum carnibus alas,
Inq; virum soliti vultus mutare ferinos,
Ambigui profecta lupi, nec defuit illi
Squameæ Cinypheitenuis membrana Chelindri,
Vivaciſq; jecur cervi; quibus inſuper addit
Ora, caputq; novem cornicis ſecula paſſæ.
His & mille aliis, poſtquam ſine nomine rebus,
Propoſitum inſtruxit mortali barbara munus
Arenti ramo jampridem mitis olivæ
Omnia confudit, ſummiſq; immiſcuit ima.
Ecce, vetus calido verſatus ſtipes aheno
Fit viridis primo, nec longo tempore frondes
Induit, & ſubitò gravidis oneratur olivis.
At quacunq; cavo ſpumas ejecit aheno
Ignis, & in terram guttæ cecidere calentes,
Vernat humus floreſq; & mollia pabula ſurgunt.
Quæ ſimulac vidi, ſtricto Medea recludit.
Enſe ſenis jugulum, veteremq; extare cruorem
Paſſa replet ſuccis, quos poſtquam combibit Æſon,
Aut ore acceptas, aut vulnere, barba comæq;
Lanitie poſita, nigrum rapuere colorem.
Pulſa fugit macies: abeunt pallorq; ſitiſq;:
Adjectoq; cavæ ſupplentur corpore rugæ;
Membraq; luxuriant. Æſon miratur, & olim
Ante quater denos hunc ſe reminiſcitur annos
Diſſimilemq; animum ſubiit ætate relicta.

Sect. 44. Pag. 94. *Extol the Suicide of* Cato.] As doth *Seneca* in ſeveral places; but *Lactantius* ſaith, he caſt away his life,

life, to get the reputation of a *Platonick* Philoſopher, and not for fear of *Cæſar*; and 'tis very probable he was in no great fear of death, when he ſlept ſo ſecurely the night before his death, as the ſtory reports of him.

Emori nolo, ſed me eſſe mortuum nihil curo. Were I of Cæſar's *Religion.*] I doubt not but here is a fault of the Preſs, and that inſtead of *Cæſar* it ſhould be *Cicero*. I meet not with any ſuch ſaying imputed to *Cæſar*, nor any thing like it, but that he preferr'd a ſudden death, (in which he had his option) to any other; but I meet with ſuch a ſaying in *Cicero*, quoted out of *Epicharmus* [*Emori nolo, ſed me eſſe mortuum nihili æſtimo.*] Where *Cicero* ſuſtaineth the part of the *Epicure*, that there is no hurt in being dead, ſince there remaineth nothing after it. *Cic.* 1. *Thuſc. qu. non procul ab initio.*

Or whence *Lucan* learn'd to ſay, *Communis mundo ſupereſt rogus*, &c.] Why, *Lucan* was a Stoique, and 'twas an opinion among them almoſt generally, that the World ſhould periſh by fire; therefore without doubt

Sect. 45. *Pag.* 98.

from them he learned it. *Cœlum quoque cum omnibus quæ in cœlo continentur, ita ut cœpisset desinere, fontium dulci aqua marisve nutriri in vim ignis abiturum. Stoicis constans opinio est, quod consumpto humore mundus hic omnis igneſcat. Minutius in Octav.* But *Minutius* should have excepted *Boetius, Possidonius, Diogenes Babylonius*, and *Zeno Sidonius*, who were *Stoiques*, and yet did not think the World should be destroyed by fire; nor yet by any other means.

Sect. 46. *Pag.* 99. *How shall we interpret* Elias 6000 *years*, &c.] *Lactant.* is very positive that the World should last but 6000 years; but his reason for it is somewhat strange; thus it is, *Quoniam sex diebus cuncta Dei opera perfecta sunt, per secula sex*, i. e. *annorum sex millia manere in hoc statu mundum necesse est. De Divino præmio, cap.* 14.

Sect. 47. *Pag.* 101. *Ipsa sui pretium virtus sibi, is but a cold principle.*] It is a Stoical principle. *Quæris enim aliquid supra summum, interrogas quid petam extra virtutem ipsam. Nihil enim habet melius*

melius pretium sui est. Senec. *de vit. beat. c.* 9.

That honest artifice of Seneca.] What that artifice was, is to be seen in *Senec. l.* 1. *Ep. Ep.* 11. *Aliquis vir bonus nobis eligendus est, & semper ante oculos habendus, ut sic tanquam illo spectante vivamus & omnia tanquam illo vidente faciamus.* Et Paulo post; *Elige itaq; Catonem; si hic videtur tibi nimis rigidus, elige remissioris animi virum Lælium,* &c. which though, as the Author saith, it be an honest Artifice, yet cannot I but commend the party, and prefer the direction of him (who ever he were) who in the Margin of my *Seneca*, over against those words, wrote these: *Quin Deo potius qui semper omnibus omnia agentibus non tanquam sed reipsa adest, & videt; ac etiam ut Testis, vindex & punitor est malè agentis.*

I have tryed, if I could reach that great Resolution of his (that is of Seneca) *to be honest without a thought of Heaven or Hell.*]* *Seneca* brags he could do this, in these words: *Si scirem deos peccata ignoscituros, &*

* *Tho. Aquin. in com. in Boet. de Consolat prope finem.*

homines ignoraturos adhuc propter vilitatem peccati peccare erubescerem. Credat Judæus appella; non ego. —

And Atheists have been the onely Philosophers.] That is, if nothing remain after this life. St. *Aug.* was of this opinion. *Disputabam* —— *Epicurum accepturum fuisse palmam in animo meo, nisi ego credidissem post mortem restare animæ vitam,* &c. Aug. *l.* 6. *conf. cap.* 16.

Sect. 48. Pag. 104. *God by a powerful voice shall command them back into their proper shapes.*] So *Minutius. Cæterum quis tam stultus est aut brutus, ut audeat repugnare hominem à Deo ut primum potuit fingi, ita posse denuo reformari, nihil esse post obitum, & ante ortum nihil fuisse; sicut de nihilo nasci licuit, ita de nihilo licere reparari. Porro difficilius est id quod sit incipere, quod quam id quod fuerit iterare. Tu perire Deo credis, si quid nostris oculis hebetibus subtrahitur. Corpus omne sive aresçit in pulverem sive in humorem solvitur, vel in cinerem comprimitur, vel in nidorem tenuatur, subducitur nobis, sed Dei elementorum in custodi inseruntur.*

In

in Octav. Vide Grot. *de veritate Relig. Christian. ubi* (*lib.* 2.) *solvit objectionem, quod dissoluta corpora restitui nequeunt.*

Or conceive a flame that can either prey upon, or purifie the substance of a soul.] Upon this ground *Psellus lib.* 1. *de energia Dæmonum, c.* 7. holds, That Angels have bodies, (though he grants them to be as pure, or more pure than Air is) otherwise he could not apprehend how they should be tormented in Hell; and it may be upon this ground it was, that the Author fell into the error of the *Arabians*, mentioned by him, *Sect.* 7. Sect. 50. Pag. 109.

There are as many Hells as Anaxagoras *conceited Worlds.*] I assure my self that this is false printed, and that instead of *Anaxagoras* it should be *Anaxarchus*; for *Anaxagoras* is reckon'd amongst those Philosophers that maintain'd a Unity of the World, but *Anaxarchus* (according to the opinion of *Epicurus*) held there were infinite Worlds. This is he that caus'd *Alexander* to weep by telling him there were infinite Sect. 51. Pag. 112.

Worlds, whereby *Alexander* it seems was brought out of opinion of his Geography, who before that time thought there remained nothing, or not much beyond his Conquests.

Sect. 54. Pag. 11. *It is hard to place those Souls in Hell.*] *Lactantius* is alike charitably disposed towards those. *Non sum equidem tam iniquus ut eos putem divinare debuisse, ut veritatem per seipsos invenirent (quod fieri ego non posse confiteor) sed hoc ab eis exigo, quod ratione ipsa præstare potuerunt.* Lactant. *de orig. error. c.* 3. which is the very same with Sir *K. Digbie*'s expression in his Observations on this place. I make no doubt at all (saith he) but if any follow'd in the whole tenour of their lives the dictaments of right reason, but that their journey was secure to Heaven.

Sect. 55. Pag. 118. Aristotle *transgress'd the Rule of his own Ethicks.*] And so they did all, as *Lactantius* hath observed at large. *Aristotle* is said to have been guilty of great vanity in his Clothes, of Incontinency, of Unfaithfulness to his Master *Alexander*, &c. But 'tis to wonder in him, if our great *Se-*

neca

neca be also guilty, whom truely notwithstanding St. *Jerome* would have him inserted into the Catalogue of Saints, yet I think he as little deserv'd it, as many of the Heathens who did not say so well as he did, for I do not think any of them lived worse: to trace him a little. In the time of the Emperour *Claudius* we find he was banish'd for suspicion of incontinency with *Julia* the daughter of *Germanicus*. If it be said that this proceeded meerly from the spight of *Messalina*, (and that *Lipsius* did not complement with him in that kind *Apostrophe, Non expetit in te hæc culpa, O Romani nominis & sapientiæ magnæ Sol. Not. in Tacit.*) why then did she not cause him to be put to death, as well as she did the other, who was her Husband's Niece? This for certain, whatever his life were, he had *paginam lascivam*, as may appear by what he hath written, *de Speculorum usu, l.* 1. *Nat. Qu. cap.* 16. Which (admitting it may in a Poet, yet) how it should be excus'd in a Philosopher I know not. To look upon him

in his exile, we find that then he wrote his Epistle *De Consolat.* to *Polybius*, *Claudius* his creature (as honest a man as *Pallas* or *Narcissus*) and therein he extols him and the Emperour to the Skies; in which he did grosly prevaricate, and lost much of his reputation, by seeking a discharge of his Exile by so sordid a means. Upon *Claudius* his marriage with *Agrippina*, he was recall'd from Banishment by her means and made *Prætor*; then he forgets the Emperour, having no need of him, labours all he can to depress him, and the hopeful *Britannicus*, and procured his Pupil *Nero* to be adopted and design'd Successor, and the Emperour's own Son to be disinherited; and against the Emperour whom he so much praised when he had need of him, after his death he writes a scurrillous Libel. In *Nero's* Court, how ungratefully doth he behave himself towards *Agrippina*! who although she were a wicked woman, yet she deserv'd well of him, and of her Son too, who yet never was at rest till he had taken away her life

life, and upon suspicion cast in against her by this man. Afterwards not to mention that he made great haste to grow rich, which should not be the business of a Philosopher, towards *Nero* himself, how well did it become his Philosophy to play the Traitor against him, and to become a complice in the Conspiracy of *Piso*? And then as good a Tragedian as he was, me thinks he doth in *extremo actu deficere*, when he must needs perswade *Paulina*, that excellent Lady his wife, to die with him: what should move him to desire it? it could in his opinion be no advantage to her, for he believ'd nothing of the immortality of the Soul; I am not satisfied with the reason of *Tacitus*, *Ne sibi unicè dilectam ad injurias relinqueret*, because he discredits it himself in almost the next words, where he saith, *Nero* bore her no ill will at all, (and would not suffer her to die) it must surely be then, because he thought he had not liv'd long enough (being not above 114 years old, so much he was) and had not the fortitude to die, unless he

he might receive some confirmation in itby her example. Now let any man Judg what a precious Legacy it is that he bequeaths by his nuncupative Will to his friends in *Tacitus*. *Conversus ad amicos* (saith he) *quando meritis eorum referre gratiam prohiberetur, quod unum jam tamen & pulcherrimum habebat, imaginem vitæ suæ relinquere testatur.* It cannot be denyed of him, that he hath said very well; but yet it must as well be affirmed, that his Practice hath run counter to his Theory, to use the Author's phrase.

The Scepticks *that affirmed they knew nothing.*] The ancient Philosophers are divided into three sorts, *Dogmatici*, *Academici*, *Sceptici*; the first were those that delivered their opinions positively; the second left a liberty of disputing *pro & contra*; the third declared that there was no knowledg of any thing, no not of this very proposition, that there is no knowledge, according to that,

—Nihil scirt siquis putat, id quoq; nescit
An sciri possit, quod se nil scire fatetur.

The

The Duke of Venice *that weds himself to the Sea by a Ring of Gold,* &c.] The Duke and Senate yearly on *Ascension day* use to go in their best attire to the Haven at *Lio*, and there by throwing a Ring into the water, do take the Sea as their spouse. *Vid. Hist. Ital.* by *Will. Thomas Cambro brit. Busbequius* reports, that there is a custom among the *Turks*, which they took from the *Greek* Priests, not much unlike unto this. *Cum Græcorum Sacerdotibus mos sit certo veris tempore aquas consecrando mare clausum veluti reserare, ante quod tempus non facile se committunt fluctibus; ab ea ceremonia nec Turcæ absunt.* Busb. *Ep.* 3. *legat. Turcic.*

But the Philosopher that threw his money into the Sea to avoid Avarice, &c.] This was *Apollonius Thyaneus*, who threw a great quantity of Gold into the Sea with these words, *Pessundo divitias, ne pessundare ab illis. Polycrates* the Tyrant of *Samos* cast the best Jewel he had into the Sea, that thereby he might learn to compose himself against the vicissitude of Fortune.

There

There go so many circumstances to a piece up one good action.] To make an action to be good, all the causes that concur must be good; but one bad amongst many good ones, is enough to make it vitious, according to the rule, *Bonum ex causa integra, malum ex partiali.*

Sect. 56. Pag. 121. *The vulgarity of those Judgments that wrap the Church of God in* Strabo's *Cloak, and restrain it unto* Europe.] 'Tis *Strabonis Tunica* in the Translation, but *Chlamydi* would do better, which is the proper expression of the word that *Strabo* useth: it is not *Europe*, but the known part of the World that *Strabo* resembleth to a Cloak, and that is it the Author here alludeth to; but we have no reason to think that the resemblance of *Strabo* is very proper. *Vid.* Sir *Hen. Savil in not. ad Tac. in vita Agricolæ.*

Sect. 57. Pag. 123. *Those who upon a rigid application of the Law, sentence* Solomon *unto damnation*, &c.[St. *Aug.* upon *Psal.* 126. and in many other places, holds that *Solomon* is damned; Of the same opinion is *Lyra*, in 2 *Reg. c.* 7. & *Bellarm.* 1. *Tom. lib.* 1. *Controv. c.* 5.

THE

THE SECOND PART.

I Wonder not at the French *for their Frogs, Snails, and Toad-ſtools.*] Toad-ſtools are not peculiar to the *French*; they were a great delicacy among the *Romans*, as appears every where in *Martial*. It was conceived the Emperour *Claudius* received his death by Poyſon, which he took in a Muſhroom. *Suet.* and *Tac.* Sect. 2. *Pag.* 127.

How among ſo many millions of faces, there ſhould be none alike.] It is reported, there have been ſome ſo much alike, that they could not be diſtinguiſhed; as King *Antiochus*, and one *Antemon*, a Plebeian of *Syria*, were ſo much alike, that *Laodice*, the King's Widow, by pretending this man was the King, diſſembled the death of the King ſo long, till Sect. 1. *Pag.* 130.

till according to her own mind: Successor was chosen. *Cn. Pompeius*, and one *Vibius* the Orator; *C. Plancus*, and *Rubrius* the Stage-player; *Cassius Severus* the Orator, and one *Mirmello*; *M. Messala Censorius*, and one *Menogenes*, were so much alike, that unless it were by their habit, they could not be distinguished: but this you must take upon the faith of *Pliny*, (*lib.* 7. *c.* 12.) and *Solinus*, (*cap.* 6.) who as this Author tells elsewhere, are Authors not very infallible.

Sect. 3. *Pag.* 138. *What a* βατραχομυομαχία *and how skirmish is between* S. *and* T. *in* Lucian,] In his *Dialogue*, *judicium vocalium*, where there is a large Oration made to the Vowels, being Judges, by *Sigma* against *Tau*, complaining that *Tau* has bereaved him of many words which should begin with *Sigma*.

Their Tongues are sharper than Actius *his Razor.*] *Actius Navius* was chief Augur, who (as the Story saith) admonishing *Tarqu. Priscus* that he should not undertake any action of moment, without first consulting

consulting the Augur, the King (shewing that he had little faith in his skill) demanded of him whether by the rules of his skill, what he had conceived in his mind might be done: to whom when *Attius* had answered it might be done, he bid him take a Whetstone which he had in his hand, and cut it in two with a Razor, which accordingly the Augur did. *Livy.* And therefore we must conceive it was very sharp. Here the Adage was crost'd, ξυρὸς διὰ ἀκόνης, i. e. *novacula in cotem. Vid. Erasm. Chiliad.*

It is not meer Zeal to Learning, or devotion to the Muses, that wiser Princes patronize the Arts, &c. *but a desire to have their names eterniz'd by the memory of their Writings.*] There is a great Scholar, who took the boldness to tell a Prince so much. *Est enim bonorum principum cum viris eruditis tacita quædam naturalisque Societas, ut alteri ab alteris illustrentur, ac dum sibi mutuò suffragantur, & gloria principibus, & doctis authoritas concilietur.* Politian. *Ep. Ludovic. Sfort.*

Sfort. quæ extat, lib. 11. *Ep. ep.* 1. And to this Opinion aſtipulates a Countryman of our own, whoſe words are theſe: *Ignotius eſſet Lucilius, niſi eum Epiſtolæ Senecæ illuſtrarent. Laudibus Cæſareis plus Virgilius & Varus Lucanuſque adjecerunt, quam immenſum illud ærarium quo Urbem & Orbem ſpoliavit. Nemo prudentiam Ithaci aut Pelidæ vires agnoſceret, niſi eas Homerus divino publicaſſet ingenio: unde nihil mihi videtur conſultius viro ad gloriam properanti fidelium favore Scriptorum. Joan. Sarisb. Polycrat. l.* 8. *c.* 14. And that Princes are as much beholding to the Poets pens as their own Swords, *Horace* tells *Cenſorinus* with great confidence: *Od.* 8. *l.* 4. *Non inciſa notis* &c.

Sect. 4. *Pag.* 140. *St.* Paul *that calls the* Cretians *Lyars, doth it but indirectly, and upon quotation of one of their own Poets.*] That is, *Epimenides*; the place is, *Tit.* 1. *v.* 12. where *Paul* uſeth this verſe, taken out of *Epimenides*.

Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί.

B

It is as bloody a thought in one way, as Nero's *was in another. For by a word we wound a thousand.*] I suppose he alludes to that passage in *Sueton.* in the life of *Nero*, where he relates that a certain person upon a time, spoke in his hearing these words,

Ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί.

i.e. When I am dead let Earth be mingled with Fire. Whereupon the Emperour uttered these words, Ἐμοῦ ζῶντος, *i.e. Tea whilst I live*: there by one word, he expres'd a cruel thought, which I think is the thing he meant; this is more cruel than the wish of *Caligula*, that the people of *Rome* had but one Neck, that he might destroy them all at a blow.

I cannot believe the story of the Italian, *&c.*] It is reported that a certain *Italian* having met with one that had highly provoked him, put a Ponyard to his breast, and unless he would blaspheme God, told him he would kill him; which the other doing to save his life, the *Italian* presently kill'd him, to the intent Sect. 6. *Pag.* 147.

he might be damned, having no time of Repentance.

I have no sins that want a Name.] The Author in *cap. ult. lib. ult. Pseudodox.* speaking of the Act of carnality exercised by the *Egyptian* Pollinctors with the dead carcasses, saith we want a name for this, wherein neither *Petronius* nor *Martial* can relieve us; therefore I conceive the Author here means a venereal sin.

This was the Temper of that Lecher that carnal'd with a Statua.] The Latine Annotator upon this hath these words; *Romæ refertur de Hispano quodam.* But certainly the Author means the Statue of *Venus Gnidia* made by *Praxiteles*, of which a certain young man became so enamoured, that *Pliny* relates, *Ferunt amore captum cum delituisset noctu simulachro cohæsisse, ejusque cupiditatis esse indicem maculam. Lucian* also has the story in his *Dialog.* [*Amores.*]

And the constitution of Nero *in his Spintrian recreations.*] The Author doth not mean the last *Nero*, but

but *Tiberius* the Emperour, whose name was *Nero* too; of whom *Sueton. Secessu verò Capreensi etiam sellariam excogitavit sedem arcanarum libidinum, in quam undique conquisiti puellarum & exoletorum greges monstrosique concubitus repertores, quos spintrias appellabat, triplici serie connexi invicem incestarent se coram ipso, ut adspectu deficientes libidines excitaret.* Suet. *in Tib.* 43.

I have seen a Grammarian toure and plume himself over a single line in Horace, *and shew more pride*, &c. *Movent mihi stomachum Grammatistæ quidam, qui cum duas tenuerint vocabulorum origines ita se ostentant ita venditant, ita circumferunt jactabundi, ut præ ipsis pro nihilo habendos Philosophos arbitrentur.* Picus Mirand. *in Ep. ad Hermol. Barb. quæ extat lib. onon Epist. Politian.* Sect. 8. Pag. 151.

Garsio quisq; duas postquam scit jungere partes.
Sic stat, sic loqnitur, velut omnes noverit artes.

I cannot think that Homer *pin'd away upon the Riddle of the Fishermen.*] The History out of *Plutarch* is thus: Sailing from *Thebes* to the Island *Ion*, being landed and set down upon the shore, there happen'd certain Fishermen to pass by him, and he asking them what they had taken, they made him this Enigmatical answer, That what they had taken, they had left behind them; and what they had not taken, they had with them: meaning, that because they could take no Fish, they went to loose themselves; and that all which they had taken, they had killed, and left behind them; and all which they had not taken, they had with them in their clothes: and that *Homer* being struck with a deep sadness because he could not interpret this, pin'd away, and at last dyed. *Pliny* alludes to this Riddle, in his *Ep.* to his Friend *Fuscus*, where giving an account of spending his time in the Country, he tells him, *Venor aliquando, sed non sine pugillaribus, ut quamvis nihil ceperim, non nihil referam.* Plin. *Ep. lib.* 9. *Ep.* 36.

Or

Or that Ariſtot.——*did ever drown himſelf upon the flux or reflux of* Euripus.] *Laertius* reports that *Ariſtotle* dyed of a diſeaſe at 63 —— years of age. For this and the laſt, ſee the Author in *Pſeudodox.*

Ariſtotle *doth but inſtruct us as* Plato *did him, to confute himſelf.*] In the matter of *Idea's*, Eternity of the World, *&c.*

I could be content that we might procreate like trees without conjunction, or that there were any way to perpetuate the World without this trivial and vulgar way of Coition: It is the fooliſheſt act a wiſe man commits in all his life.] There was a Phyſitian long before the Author, that was of the ſame opinion, *Hippocrates*; for which *vide Agel. l.* 19. *Noct. Attic.* c. 2. And ſo of late time was *Paracelſus*, who did undertake to preſcribe a way for the generation of a man without coition. *Vide Campanel de ſenſu rerum, in Append. ad* cap. 19. l. 4. *Monſieur Montaignes* words on this ſubject, are Sect. 9. *Pag.* 154.

worth the reading; theſe they are *Je trouve apres tout, que l'amour n'eſt autre choſe que la faim de cette jouyſſance, & conſiderant mainteſfois ridicule titillation de ſe plaiſer par cu il nous tient, les abſurdes movements, eſcervelez & eſtourdis dequoy il agit Zenon & Cratippus, ceſte rage indiſcrete, ce viſage inflammé de fureur & de cruante au plus doux effect de l'amour, & puis cette morgue grave ſevere & extatique en une action ſi folle, & que la ſupreme volupte aye du trainſy & du plaintiff commer la doleur, je croye qu'au ſe joue de nous, & que c'eſt par induſtrie que nature nous a laiſſe la plus trouble de nos actions les plus communes pour nous eſgaller par la & apparier les fols & les ſages: & nous & les beſtes, le plus contemplatif & prudent homme quand je l'imagin en cette aſſiette je le tien pour un affronteur, de faire le prudent & le contemplatiff, ce ſont les pieds du paon qui abbatent ſon orgueil, nous mangeons bien & beavous comme les beſtes, mais ce ne ſont*

pas actions, qui empeschent les operations de nostre ame, en celles-la nous gradous nostre advantage sur elles: cettecy met tout autre pensee sans le joug abrutist & abesit par son imperieuse authorité toute la Theology & Philosophy, qui est en Platon & si il ne se plaint pas, par tout ailleurs vous pouvez garder quelque decence toutes autres operations souffrent des Regles d'honestete cettecy ne se peut seulement imaginer que vitieuse ou ridicule trouvezy pourvoir un proceder sage & discret. Alexander disoit qu'il se cognoissait principalement mortel par cette action & par le dormir: le sommeil suffoque & supprime les facultez de nostre ame, la besoigne les absorbe & dissipe de mesme. Certes c'est une marque non seulement de nostre corruption originelle, mais aussi de nostre vanite & disformite. D'un coste nature nous y pousse ayant attache a ce desire la plus noble, utile & plaisante de toutes ses operations, & la nous laisse d'autre part accusar & fuyr romme insolent &

dishoneste, en rougir & cecommander l' abstinence, &c. Montaign *liv.* 3. *chapit.* 5.

Sect. 10. Pag. 159. *And may be inverted on the worst.*] That is, that there are none so abandoned to vice, but they have some sprinklings of vertue. There are scarce any so vitious, but commend virtue in those that are endued with it, and do some things laudable themselves, as *Plin.* saith in *Panegyric.* *Machiavel* upon *Livy*, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 27. sets down the ensuing relation as a notable confirmation of this truth. *Julius Pontifex, ejus nominis secundus, anno salutis* 1505. *Bononiam exercitus duxit, ut Bentivolorum familiam, quæ ejus urbis imperium centum jam annos tenuerat, loco moveret. Eademque in expeditione etiam Johannem Paglum, Bagloneum tyrannum Perusinum sua sede expellere decreverat, ut cæteros item, qui urbes Ecclesiæ per vim tenerent. Ejus rei causa cùm ad Perusinam urbem accessisset, & notum jam omnibus esset quid in animo haberet: tamen impa-*

tiens

tiens moræ, noluit exercitus expectare, ſed inermis quaſi urbem ingreſſus eſt, in quam Johannes Pagolus defendendi ſui cauſa, non exiguas copias contraxerat. Is autem eodem furore, quo res ſuas adminiſtrare ſolebat, unà cum milite, cui cuſtodiam ſui corporis demandarat, ſeſe in pontificis poteſtatem dedidit; à quo abductus eſt relictuſque alius, qui Eccleſiæ nomine urbem gubernaret. Hac ipſa in re magnopere admirati ſunt viri ſapientes, qui Pontificem comitabantur, cum Pontificis ipſius temeritatem, cum adjectum vilemque Johannis Pagoli animum: nec cauſam intelligebant, ob quam permotus idem Pagolus, hoſtem ſuum inermem (quod illi cum perpetua nominis ſui memoria facere licebat) non ſubitò oppreſſerit, & tam pretioſa ſpolia diripuerit; cum Pontifex urbem ingreſſus fuiſſet, Cardinalibus tantum ſuis ſtipatus, qui pretioſiſſimas quaſque ſuarum rerum ſecum habebant. Neque enim credebatur Pagolus a tanto facinore vel ſua bonitate, vel

vel animi conscientia abstinuisse quod in hominem sceleratum, qui & propria sorore utebatur, & consobrinos nepotesque dominandi causa è medio sustulerat hujusmodi pii affectus cadere non viderentur. Cum igitur hac de re variæ essent sapientum virorum sententiæ; concluserunt tandem id ei accidisse, quod ita comparatum sit, ut homines neque plane pravi esse queant, neque perfecte boni. Pravi perfecte esse nequeant, propterea quòd, ubi tale quoddam scelus est, in quo aliquid magnifici ac generosi insit, id patrare non audeant. Nam cum Pagolus neque incestum priùs horruisset, neque patricidio abstinuisset: tamen cum oblata esset occasio, pravi quidem sed memorabilis, atque æternæ memoriæ facinoris patrandi, id attentare non ausus fuit, cum id sine infamia prestare licuisset, quod rei magnitudo omnia priora scelera obtegere potuisset, & à periculo conservare. Quibus accedit, quod illi gratulati fuissent etiam quam plurimi, si primis ausus esset Pontificibus monstrare

rationem

rationem dominandi; totiusque humanæ vitæ usum ab illis nimis parvi pendi.

Poysons contain within themselves their own Antidote.] The Poyson of a Scorpion is not Poyson to it self, nor the Poyson of a Toad is not Poyson to it self; so that the sucking out of Poyson from persons infected by Psylls, (who are continually nourished with venemous aliment) without any prejudice to themselves, is the less to be wondred at.

The man without a Navil yet lives in me.] The Latine Annotator hath explicated this by *Homo non perfectus*, by which it seems he did not comprehend the Author's meaning; for the Author means *Adam*, and by a Metonymie original sin; for the Navil being onely of use to attract the aliment *in utero materno*, and *Adam* having no mother, he had no use of a Navil, and therefore it is not to be conceived he had any; and upon that ground the Author calls him the man without a Navil.

Our

Sect. 11. Pag. 125. *Our groſſer memories have then ſo little hold of our abſtracted understandings, that they forget the ſtory, and can onely relate to our awaked ſenſes a confuſed and broken tale of that that hath paſs'd.*] For the moſt part it is ſo. In regard of the Author's expreſſion of forgetting the ſtory, though otherwiſe it be not very pertinent to this place, I ſhall ſet down a relation given by an Engliſh Gentleman, of two dreams that he had, wherein he did not forget the ſtory, but (what is more ſtrange) found his dreams verified. This it is.

Whilſt I lived at *Prague*, and one night had ſit up very late drinking at a feaſt, early in the morning the Sun beams glancing on my face, as I lay in my bed, I dreamed that a ſhadow paſſing by told me that my Father was dead; at which awaking all in a ſweat, and affected with this dream, I roſe and wrote the day and hour, and all circumſtances thereof in a Paper-book, which book with many other things I put into

a Barrel, and ſent it from *Prague* to *Stode*, thence to be conveyed into *England*. And now being at *Nurenburgh*, a Merchant of a noble Family well acquainted with me and my friends, arrived there, who told me my Father dyed ſome two months ago. I liſt not to write any lyes, but that which I write, is as true as ſtrange. When I returned into *England* ſome four years after, I would not open the Barrel I ſent from *Prague*, nor look into the Paper book in which I had written this dream, till I had called my Siſters and ſome friends to be witneſſes, where my ſelf and they were aſtoniſhed to ſee my written dream anſwer the very day of my Father's death.

I may lawfully ſwear that which my Kinſman hath heard witneſſed by my brother *Henry* whilſt he lived, that in my youth at *Cambridge*, I had the like dream of my Mother's death, where my brother *Henry* living with me, early in the morning I dreamed that my Mother paſſed by,

by with a ſad countenance, and told me that ſhe could not come to my Commencement: I being within five months to proceed Maſter of Arts, and ſhe having promiſed at that time to come to *Cambridge*. And when I related this dream to my brother, both of us awaking together in a ſweat, he proteſted to me that he had dreamed the very ſame: and when we had not the leaſt knowledge of our Mothers ſickneſs, neither in our youthful affections were any whit affected with the ſtrangeneſs of this dream, yet the next Carrier brought us word of our Mothers death. Mr. *Fiennes Moriſon* in his Itinerary. I am not over-credulous of ſuch relations, but methinks the circumſtance of publiſhing it at ſuch a time, when there were thoſe living that might have diſprov'd it, if it had been falſe, is a great argument of the truth of it.

Sect. 12. *Pag.* 166. *I wonder the fancy of* Lucan *and* Seneca *did not diſcover it.*] For they had both power from *Nero* to chuſe their deaths.

To

To conceive our ſelves Urinals is not ſo ridiculous.] *Reperti ſunt Galeno & Avicenna teſtibus qui ſe vaſa fictilia crederent, & idcirco hominum attactum ne confringerentur ſolicite fugerent.* Pontan. *in Attic. bellar.* (*Hiſt.* 22.) Which proceeds from extremity of melancholy. Sect. 13. Pag. 169.

Ariſtot. *is too ſevere, that will not allow us to be truely liberal without wealth,*] *Ariſtot.* l. 1. *Ethic.* c. 8.

Thy will be done though in mine own undoing.] This ſhould be the wiſh of every man, and is of the moſt wiſe and knowing. *Le Chriſtien plus humble & plus ſage & meux recognoiſſant que c'eſt que de lay ſe rapporte a ſon createur de choiſir & ordonner ce qu' el luy faqt. Il ne le ſupplie dautre choſe que ſa volunte ſoit faite.* Montaign. Sect. 15. Pag. 174.

FINIS.

OBSERVATIONS
UPON
RELIGIO MEDICI.

Occasionally Written
By Sr. *Kenelm Digby*, Knight.

The sixth Edition,
Corrected and Enlarged.

LONDON,
Printed for *R. Scot*, *T. Basset*,
J. Wright, *R. Chiswel*. 1682.

OBSERVATIONS UPON *RELIGIO MEDICI.*

To the Right Honorable *Edward* Earl of *Dorſet*, Baron of *Buckhurſt*, &c.

My Lord,

I Received yeſternight, your Lordſhips of the nineteenth current, wherein you are pleaſed to oblige me, not onely by extream gallant Expreſſions of favour and kindneſs, but likewiſe by taking ſo far into your care the expending of my time, during the tediouſneſs of my reſtraint, as to recommend to my reading a *Book*, that had received the honour and ſafeguard of your approbation; for both which I moſt

humbly thank your Lordſhip. And ſince I cannot in the way of grateſulneſs expreſs unto your Lordſhip as I would, thoſe hearty ſentiments I have of your goodneſs to me; I will at the laſt endeavour, in the way of *Duty* and *Obſervance*, to let you ſee how the little Needle of my Soul is throughly touched at the great Loadſtone of yours, and followeth ſuddenly and ſtrongly, which way ſoever you becken it. In this occaſion, the Magnetick motion was impatient to have the *Book* in my hands, that your Lordſhip gave ſo advantagious a Character of; whereupon I ſent preſently (as late as it was) to *Paul's* Church-yard for this Favourite of yours, *Religio Medici*: which after a while found me in a condition fit to receive a Bleſſing by a viſit from any of ſuch Maſterpieces, as you look upon with gracious eyes; for I was newly gotten into my bed. This good-natured creature I could eaſily perſwade to be my Bed-fellow, and to wake with me, as long as I had any edge to entertai-

ain my self with the delights I sucked from so noble a conversation. And truely (my Lord) I closed not my eyes, till I had enricht my self with, or at least exactly surveyed all the treasures that are lapped up in the folds of those few sheets. To return onely a general commendation of this curious Piece, or at large to admire the Author's spirit and smartness, were too perfunctory an accompt, and too slight an one, to so discerning and stedy an eye as yours, after so particular and encharged a Summons to read heedfully this Discourse. I will therefore presume to blot a Sheet or two of Paper with my reflections upon sundry passages through the whole Context of it, as they shall occurr to my remembrance. Which now your Lordship knoweth, this Packet is not so happy as to carry with it any one expression of my obsequiousness to you. It will be but reasonable, you should even here give over your further trouble of reading, what my respect ingageth me to the writing of.

Whose first step is ingenuity and a well-natur'd evenness of *Judgement*, shall be sure of applause and fair hopes in all men for the rest of his *Journey*. And indeed (my Lord) me thinketh this Gentleman setteth out excellently poised with that happy temper; and sheweth a great deal of *Judicious Piety* in making a right use of the blind zeal that *Bigots* lose themselves in. Yet I cannot satisfie my Doubts throughly, how he maketh good his professing to follow the great Wheel of the Church in matters of *Divinity*: which surely is the solid *Basis* of true Religion: for to do so, without jarring against the Conduct of the first Mover by Eccentrical and Irregular Motions, obligeth one to yield a very dutiful obedience to the determinations of it, without arrogating to ones self a controling Ability in liking or misliking the Faith, Doctrine, and Constitutions of that *Church* which one looketh upon as their North-star: *Whereas*, if I mistake not, this Author approveth the Church of *England*, not absolutely, but comparatively

paratively with other Reformed Churches.

My next Reflection is, concerning what he hath ſprinkled (moſt wittily) in ſeveral places concerning the Nature and Immortality of a humane Soul, and the Condition and State it is in, after the diſſolution of the Body. And here give me leave to obſerve what our Country-man *Roger Bacon* did long ago; *That thoſe Students, who buſie themſelves much with ſuch Notions, as reſide wholly to the fantaſie, do hardly ever become Idoneous for abſtracted Metaphyſical Speculations; the one having bulkie Foundation of Matter, or of the Accidents of it, to ſettle upon, (at the leaſt, with one foot:) The other flying continually, even to a leſſening pitch in the ſubtil Air. And accordingly, it hath been generally noted, That the exacteſt Mathematicians, who converſe altogether with Lines, Figures, and other Differences of Quantity, have ſeldom proved eminent in Metaphyſicks, or Speculative Divinity. Nor again, the Profeſſors of theſe Sciences in the other Arts. Much leſs*

can it be expected that an excellent Physician, whose fancy is alwayes fraught with the material Drugs that he prescribeth his Apothecary to compound his Medicines of, and whose hands are inured to the cutting up, and eyes to the inspection of Anatomized Bodies, should easily, and with success, flie his thoughts at so towring a Game, *as a pure Intellect, a separated and unbodied Soul.* Surely this acute *Author*'s sharp wit, had he orderly applied his Studies that way, would have been able to satisfie himself with less labour, and others with more plenitude, than it hath been the Lot of so dull a brain as mine, concerning the *Immortality of the Soul.* And yet, I assure you (my *Lord*) the little *Philosophy* that is allowed me for my share, demonstrateth this Proposition to me, as well as Faith delivereth it; *which* our *Physician* will not admit in his.

To make good this Assertion here were very unreasonable; since that to do it exactly (and without exactness, it were not demonstration) requireth

quireth a total Survey of the whole Science of *Bodies*, and of all the operations that we are conversant with, of a rational Creature; which I having done with all the succinctneſs I have been able to explicate ſo knotty a ſubject with, hath taken me up in the firſt draught neer two hundred ſheets of Paper. I ſhall therefore take leave of this Point, with only this Note, That I take the *Immortality of the Soul* (under his favour) to be of that nature, that to them onely that are not verſed in the ways of proving it by Reaſon, it is an Article of Faith; to others, it is an evident Concluſion of demonſtrative Science.

And with a like ſhort Note, I ſhall obſerve, how if he had traced the Nature of the *Soul* from its firſt principles, he could not have ſuſpected it ſhould ſleep in the Grave, 'till the *Reſurrection* of the Body. Nor would he have permitted his compaſſionative Nature to imagin it belonged to God's mercy (as the *Chiliaſts* did) to change its condition

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in those that are damned, from pain to happiness. For where God should have done that, he must have made that anguished Soul another creature than what it was (as to make fire cease from being hot, requireth to have it become another thing than the *Element* of fire; since that to be in such a condition, as maketh us understand damned souls miserable, is a necessary effect of the temper it is in, when it goeth out of the *Body*, and must necessarily (out of its Nature) remain in, unvariably for all Eternity; *Though*, for the Conceptions of the vulgar part of Mankind, (who are not capable of such abstruse Nations) it be styled (and truely too) the sentence and punishment of a severe *Judge*.

I am extreemly pleased with him, when he saith, There are not Impossibilities enough in *Religion* for an Active Faith: And no whit less, when in *Philosophy* he will not be satisfied with such naked terms, as in *Schools* use to be obtruded, upon easie minds, when the Master's fingers

gers are not ſtrong enough to untie the Knots propoſed unto them. I confeſs, when I enquire what Light (to uſe our Author's Example) is, I ſhould be as well contented with his ſilence, as with his telling me it is *Actus perſpicui*; unleſs he explicate clearly to me, what thoſe words mean, which I find very few go about to do. Such meat they ſwallow whole, and eject it as entire. But were ſuch things Scientifically and Methodically declared, they would be of extream Satisfaction and Delight. And that work taketh up the greateſt part of my formerly-mentioned Treatiſe. For I endeavour to ſhew by a continued Progreſs, and not by Leaps, all the Motions of Nature; and unto them to fit intelligibly the terms uſed by her beſt Secretaries; whereby all wilde fantaſtick Qualities and Moods (introduced for refuges of Ignorance) are baniſhed from Commerce.

In the next place (my *Lord*) I ſhall ſuſpect that our Author hath not pennetrated into the bottom of thoſe Conceptions that deep Scholars

lars have taught us of *Eternity*; Me thinketh he taketh it for an infinite Extension of time, and a never ending Revolution of continual succession: which is no more like *Eternity*, than a gross Body is like a pure *Spirit*. Nay, such an Infinity of Revolutions, is demonstrable to be a Contradiction, and impossible. In the state of *Eternity* there is no Succession, no Change, no Variety. *Souls* or *Angels* in that condition, do not so much as change a thought. All things, notions and actions, that ever were, are, or shall be in any creature, are actually present to such an Intellect. And this (my *Lord*) I aver, not as deriving it from *Theology*, and having recourse to beatifick Vision, to make good my Tenet, (for so, onely glorified creatures should enjoy such immense knowledge) but out of the principles of *Nature* and *Reason*, and from thence shall demonstrate it to belong to the lowest *Soul* of the ignorantest wretch whilst he lived in this world, since damned in *Hell*. A bold undertaking, you will say. But I confidently

fidently engage my self to it. Upon this occasion occurreth also a great deal to be said of the nature of *Predestination* (which by the short touches our Author giveth of it, I doubt he quite mistakes) and how it is an unalterable *Series* and *Chain of Causes*, producing *infallible* (and in respect of them, necessary) Effects. But that is too large a *Theam* to unfold here; too vast an *Ocean* to describe in the scant Map of a Letter. And therefore I will refer that to a fitter opportunity, fearing I have already too much trespassed upon your Lordship's patience; but that indeed, I hope, you have not had enough to read thus far.

I am sure, my *Lord*, that you (who never forgot any thing which deserved a room in your memory) do remember how we are told, that *Abyssus abyssum invocat*; so here our Author, from the Abyss of *Predestination*, falleth into that of the *Trinity of Persons*, consistent with the Indivisibility of the Divine Nature: And out of that (if I be not exceedingly deceived) into a third

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of mistaking, when he goeth about to illustrate this admirable Mystery by a wild discourse of a *Trinity* in our *Souls*. The dint of Wit is not forcible enough to dissect such tough Matter; wherein all the obscure glimmering we gain of that inaccessible Light, cometh to us cloathed in the dark Weeds of Negations, and therefore little can we hope to meet with any positive Examples to parallel it withal.

I doubt, he also mistaketh, and imposeth upon the several *Schools*, when he intimateth, that they gainsay this visible worlds being but a Picture or Shadow of the Invisible and Intellectual: which manner of *Philosophizing* he attributeth to *Hermes Trismegistus*, but is every where to be met with in *Plato*: and is raised since to a greater height in the Christian Schools.

But I am sure he learned in no good School, nor sucked from any good *Philosophy* to give an actual Subsistence and Being to first Matter without a Form. He that will allow that a *Real Existence* in Nature is

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as ſuperficially tincted in *Metaphyſicks*, as another would be in *Mathematicks*, that ſhould allow the like to a Point, a Line, or a Superficies in Figures; Theſe, in their ſtrict Notions, are but Negations of further Extenſion, or but exact Terminations of that Quantity, which falleth under the Conſideration of the Underſtanding in the preſent purpoſe, no real Entities in themſelves: ſo likewiſe, the Notions of Matter, Form, Act, Power, Exiſtence, and the like, that are with Truth, conſidered by the Underſtanding, and have there each of them a diſtinct Entity, are nevertheleſs no where by themſelves in Nature. They are terms which we muſt uſe in the Negotiations of our thoughts, if we will diſcourſe conſequently, and conclude knowingly. But then again, we muſt be very wary of attributing to things in their own Natures ſuch Entities as we create in our Underſtandings, when we make Pictures of them there; for there every different conſideration, ariſing out of the different

different impression which the same thing maketh upon us, hath a distinct Being by it self. Whereas in the thing there is but one single *Unity*, that sheweth (as it were in a Glass, at several positions) those various faces in our understanding. In a word, all these words are but artificial terms, not real things. And the not right understanding of them; is the dangerousest Rock that *Scholars* suffer shipwrack against.

I go on with our *Physician*'s Contemplations. Upon every occasion he sheweth strong parts, and a vigorous brain. His wishes and aims, and what he pointeth at, speak him owner of a noble and a generous heart. He hath reason to wish that *Aristotle* had been as accurate in examining the Causes, Nature and Affections of the great Universe he busied himself about, as his Patriarch *Galen* hath been in the like considerations upon this little *World*, Man's Body in that admirable Work of his *De Usu Partium*. But no great humane thing was ever born and perfected at once. It may satisfie

us, if one in our age, buildeth that magnificent Structure upon the others foundations; and especially, if where he findeth any of them unsound, he eradicateth those, and fixeth new unquestionable ones in their room: But so, as they still, in gross, keep a proportion, and bear a *Harmony* with the other great Work. This hath now, (even now) our learned Countryman done; The knowing Mr. *White*, (whose name, I believe your Lordship hath met with al, in his excellent Book, *De Mundo*, newly printed at *Paris*, where he now resideth, and is admired by the World of Letter'd men there, as the *Prodigie* of these latter times. Indeed his three *Dialogues* upon that Subject, (if I am able to judge any thing) are full of the profoundest Learning I ever yet met withal. And I believe, who hath well read & digested them, will perswade himself, there is no truth so abstruse, nor hitherto conceived out of our reach, but mans wit may raise Engines to scale and conquer. I assure my self, when our Author hath studied him throughly, he will

not lament so loud for *Aristotle*'s mutilated and defective *Philosophy*, as in *Boccaline Cæsar Caporali* doth for the loss of *Livies* ship-wracked *Decads*.

That *Logick* which he quarrelleth at, for calling a *Toad* or *Serpent* ugly, will in the end agree with his; for no body ever took them to be so, in respect of the *Universe*, (in which regard he defendeth their Regularity and Symmetry) but onely as they have relation to us.

But I cannot so easily agree with him, where he affirmeth, that *Devils* or other *Spirits* in the Intellectual World, have no exact *Ephemerides*, wherein they may read before-hand the Stories of fortuite Accidents. For I believe, that all Causes are so immediately chained to their Effects, as if a perfect knowing Nature get hold but of one link, it will drive the entire *Series*, or Pedigree of the whole to its utmost end; (as I think I have proved in my fore-named Treatise) so that in truth there is no Fortuitness or Contingency of

things

things, in respect of themselves, but onely in respect of us, that are ignorant of their certain and necessary Causes.

Now a little *Series* or Chain and Complex of all outward Circumstances, (whose highest link, *Poets* say prettily is fasten'd to *Jupiter's* Chair, and the lowest is riveted to every Individual on Earth) steered and levelled by *God Almighty*, at the first setting out of the first Mover; I conceive, to be that *Divine Providence* and *Mercy*, which (to use our Author's own Example) giveth a thriving *Genius* to the *Hollanders*, and the like: And not any secret, invisible, mystical Blessing, that falleth not under the search or cognizance of a prudent indagation.

I must needs approve our Authors Æquanimity, and I may as justly say his Magnanimity, in being contented so cheerfully (as he saith) to shake hands with the fading *Goods* of *Fortune*, and be deprived of the joys of her most precious blessings; so that he may in recompence possess in ample measure the true ones

of the mind; like *Epictetus*, that Master of moral Wisdom and Piety, who taxeth them of high injustice, that repine at Gods Distribution of his Blessings, when he putteth not into their share of goods, such things as they use no Industry or Means to purchase. For why should that man, who above all things esteemeth his own freedom, and who to enjoy that, sequestreth himself from commerce with the vulgar of mankind; take it ill of his *Stars*, if such Preferments, Honours, and Applauses meet not him, as are painfully gained, after long and tedious Services of *Princes*, and brittle Dependances of humorous Favourites, and supple Compliances with all sorts of Natures? As for what he saith of *Astrologie*; I do not conceive, that wise men reject it so much for being repugnant to *Divinity* (which he reconcileth well enough) as for having no solid Rules or ground in Nature. To rely too far upon that vain Art, I judge to be rather folly than impiety, unless in our censure we look to the first *Origine* of it; which is

voureth

voureth of the Idolatry of those *Heathens*, that worshipping the *Stars* and heavenly Bodies for *Deities*, did in a superstitious Devotion, attribute unto them the Causality of all Effects beneath them. And for ought I know, the belief of solid *Orbs* in the Heavens, and their regularly-irregular Motions, sprung from the same root. And a like Inanity, I should suspect in *Chiromancy*, as well as *Astrologie*, (especially, in particular contingent Effects) however our *Author*, and no less a man than *Aristotle*, seem to attribute somewhat more to that conjectural Art of *Lines*.

I should much doubt (though our Author sheweth himself of another mind) that *Bernardinus Ochinus* grew at the last to be a meer *Atheist*: When after having been first the Institutor and *Patriarch* of the *Capucine-Order* (so violent was his Zeal then, as no former religious Institution, though never so rigorous, was strict enough for him) he from thence fell to be first an *Heretick*, then a *Jew*, and after

This Story I have but upon relation, yet of a very good hand.

after a while became a *Turk*; and at the last wrote a furious Invective against those, whom he called the three *Grand Impostors* of the *World*, among whom he ranked our Saviour *Christ*, as well as *Moses* and *Mahomet*.

I doubt he mistakes in his *Chronologie*, or the Printer in the name, when he maketh *Ptolomy* condemn the *Alchoran*.

He needeth not be so scrupulous, as he seemeth to be in averring down-rightly, That God cannot do contradictory things, (though peradventure it is not amiss to sweeten the manner of the expression, and the sound of the words) for who understandeth the nature of contradiction, will find *Non-Entity* in one of the terms, which of *God* were impiety not to deny peremptorily. For he being in his proper Nature *Self-Entity*, all *Being* must immediately flow from him, and all *Not-Being* be totally excluded from that Efflux. Now for the recalling of *Time* past, which the *Angels* posed *Esdras* with-

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al; there is no contradiction in that, as is evident to them that know the essence of Time. For it is but putting again, all things that had motion, into the same state they were in, at that moment unto which time was to be reduced back, and from thence letting it travel on again by the same motion, and upon the same wheels it rouled upon before. And therefore God could do this admirable Work, though neither *Esdras*, nor all the power of Creatures together could do it: And consequently it cannot in this Question be said, that he posed Mortality with what himself was not able to perform.

I acknowledge ingenuously, our *Physician*'s experience hath the advantage of my *Philosophy*, in knowing there are Witches. Yet I am sure, I have no temptation to doubt of the *Deity*; nor have any unsatisfaction in believing there are *Spirits*. I do not see such a necessary conjunction between them, as that the supposition of the one must needs infer the other. Neither do I deny

there are Witches. I only reserve my Assent, till I meet with stronger motives to carry it. And I confess I doubt as much of the efficacy of those Magical Rules, he speaketh of, as also of the finding out of Mysteries by the courteous *Revelation of Spirits*,

I doubt his Discourse of an *Universal Spirit*, is but a wild Fancy: and that in the marshalling of it, he mistaketh the *Hermetical Philosophers*. And surely, it is a weak argument, from a common nature, that subsisteth only in our understanding (out of which it hath no being at all) to infer by parity, an actual Subsistence, or the like, in reality of nature (of which kind of miscarriage in mens discoursings, I have spoken before.) And upon this occasion, I do not see how seasonably he falleth of a sudden from natural Speculations, to a Moral Contemplation of *Gods Spirit* working in us. In which also I would enquire (especially upon his sudden Poetical rapture) whether the Soli-

dity

dity of the *Judgement* be not outweighed by the airineſs of the Fancy. Aſſuredly one cannot err in taking this *Author* for a very fine ingenious *Gentleman*: But for how deep a *Scholar*, I leave unto them to judge, that are abler than I am.

If he had applied himſelf with earneſt ſtudy, and upon right grounds, to ſearch out the Nature of pure Intellects; I doubt not but his great Parts would have argued more efficaciouſly, than he doth againſt thoſe, that between *Men* and *Angels*, put only *Porphyrie*' difference of *Mortality* and *Immortality*. Andhe would have dived further into the tenour of their Intellectual Operations; in which there is no Succeſſion, nor ratiocinative Diſcourſe; for in the very firſt inſtant of their Creation, they actually knew all that they were capable of knowing, and they are acquainted even with all free thoughts, paſt, preſent, and to come; for they ſee them in their cauſes, and they ſee them all together at one inſtant; as I have in my fore-mentioned

ned Treatise proved at *large*: And I think I have already touched thus much once before in this *Letter*.

I am tempted here to say a great deal concerning *Light*, by his taking it to be a bare Quality. For in *Physicks*, no Speculation is more useful, or reacheth further. But to set down such *Phænomena's* of it, as I have observed, and from whence I evidently collect the Nature of it, were too large a *Theam* for this place: When your Lordship pleaseth, I shall shew you another more orderly Discourse upon that Subject; wherein I have sufficiently proved it to be a solid Substance and Body.

In his proceeding to collect an Intellectual World, and in his discoursing upon the place and habitation of *Angels*; as also in his consideration of the activity of glorified Eyes, which shall be in the state of rest, whereas motion is required to seeing; and in his subtil Speculation upon two Bodies, placed in the Vacuity, beyond the utmost all-encloſing Superficie of *Heaven* (which implieth

implieth a Contradiction in Nature) methinks I hear *Apelles* cry out, *Ne ſutor ultra Crepidam*: or rather, it putteth me in mind of one of the Titles in *Pantagruel's* Library, (which he expreſſeth himſelf converſant in) namely, *Quæſtio ſubtiliſſima, utrum Chimæra in vacuo bombinans poſſit comedere Secundas intentiones*; with which ſhort Note I will leave theſe Conſiderations; in which (if time, and other circumſtances allowed it) matter would ſpring up of excellent *Learning*.

When our Author ſhall have read Mr. *Whites* Dialogue of the *World*, he will no longer be of the Opinion, That the Unity of the World is a concluſion of Faith: For it is there demonſtrated by *Reaſon*.

Here the thread of the Diſcourſe inviteth me to ſay a great deal of the Production or Creation of *Mans Soul*. But it is too tedious, and too knotty a piece for a *Letter*. Now it ſhall ſuffice to note, that it is not *Ex traduce*, and yet hath a ſtrange kind

kind of near dependance of the Body, which is, as it were, Gods instrument to create it by. This, thus said, or rather tumbled out, may seem harsh. But had your Lordship leisure to peruse what I have written at full upon this Point, I doubt not but it would appear plausible enough to you.

I cannot agree with him, when he seemeth to impute Inconvenience to *long Life*, and that length of time doth rather impair, than improve us: For surely, if we will follow the course of Nature, and of Reason, it is a mighty great blessing; were it but in this regard, that it giveth time leave to vent and boyl away the unquietnesses and turbulencies that follow our passions, and to wean our selves gently from carnal affections, and at the last to drop with ease and willingness, like ripe fruit from the *Tree*; as I remember *Plotinus* finely discourseth in one of his *Eneads*. For when before the Season, it is plucked off with violent hands, or shaken down by rude and boysterous winds,

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it carrieth along with it an indigeſted raw taſt of the Wood, and hath an unpleaſant aigerneſs it its juyce, that maketh it unfit for uſe, till long time hath mellowed it: And peradventure it may be ſo backward, as in ſtead of ripening, it may grow rotten in the very *Center*. In like manner, *Souls* that go out of their *Bodies* with affection to thoſe Objects they leave behind them, (which uſually is as long as they can reliſh them) do retain ſtill even in their Separation, a byas, and a languiſhing towards them: which is the *Reaſon* why ſuch terrene Souls appear oftenеſt in *Cæmeteries* and *Charnel-houſes*, and not that moral one, which our Author giveth. For Life, which is union with the body, being that which carnal ſouls have ſtraighteſt affection to, and that they are loatheſt to be ſeparated from; their unquiet *Spirit*, which can never (naturally) loſe the impreſſions it had wrought in it at the time of its driving out, lingereth perpetually after that dear Conſort of his. The impoſſibility

impossibility cannot cure them of their impotent desires; they would fain be alive again;

> ——*Iterumque ad tarda reverti*
> *Corpora. Quæ lucis miseris tam*
> *dira cupido.*

And to this cause peradventure may be reduced the strange effect, which is frequently seen in *England*, when at the approach of the *Murderer*, the slain body suddenly bleedeth afresh. For certainly, the Souls of them that are treacherously murdered by surprize, use to leave their bodies with extream unwillingness, and with vehement indignation against them, that force them to so unprovided and abhorred a passage. That Soul then, to wreak its evil talent against the hated Murderer, and to draw a just and desired revenge upon his head, would do all it can to manifest the author of the fact. To speak, it cannot, for in it self it wanteth *Organs* of voice; and those it is parted from, are now

grown

grown too heavy, and are too benummed for it to give motion unto. Yet ſome change it deſireth to make in the body, which it hath ſo vehement inclinations to, and therefore is the apteſt for it to work upon: It muſt then endeavour to cauſe a motion in the ſubtileſt and moſt fluid parts (and conſequently, the moſt moveable ones) of it. This can be nothing but the Blood, which then being violently moved, muſt needs guſh out at thoſe places where it findeth iſſues.

Our Author cannot believe, that the World will periſh upon the ruines of its own principles. But Mr. *White* hath demonſtrated the end of it upon natural Reaſon. And though the preciſe time for that general Deſtruction be inſcrutable; yet he learnedly ſheweth an ingenious Rule, whereby to meaſure in ſome ſort the duration of it, without being branded (as our Author threatneth) with convincible and *Statute*-madneſs, or with impiety. And whereas he will have the work of this laſt

great

great Day (the Summer up of all past days) to imply annihilation and thereupon interesseth God only in it: I must beg leave to contradict him, namely in this Point; and to affirm, that the letting loose then of the activest Element, to destroy this face of the World, will but beget a change in it; and that no annihilation can proceed from God Almighty: For his Essence being (as I said before) self-existence, it is more impossible that Not-being should flow from him, than that cold should flow immediately from fire, or darkness from the actual presence of light.

I must needs acknowledge, that where he ballanceth Life and Death against one another, and considereth that the latter is to be a Kind of nothing for a moment, to become a pure *Spirit* within one instant, and what followeth of this strong thought, is extream handsomely said, and argueth very gallant and generous Resolutions in him.

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To exemplifie the *Immortality of the Soul*, he needeth not have recourſe to the *Philoſophers*-ſtone. His own ſtore furniſheth him with a moſt pregnant one of reviving a Plant (the ſame numerical Plant) out of his own aſhes. But under his favour, I believe his experiment will fail, if under the notion of the ſame, he comprehendeth all the Accidents that firſt accompanied that Plant; for ſince in the aſhes there remaineth onely the fixed Salt, I am very confident, that all the Colour, and much of the Odour and Taſte of it, is flown away with the Volatile Salt.

What ſhould I ſay of his making ſo particular a Narration of perſonal things, and private thoughts of his own; the knowledge whereof cannot much conduce to any mans betterment? (which I make account is the chief end of his writing this Diſcourſe.) As where he ſpeaketh of the ſoundneſs of his Body, of the courſe of his Diet, of the coolneſs of his Blood at the Summer-Solſtice

of his age, of his neglect of an *Epitaph*; how long he hath lived, or may live; what *Popes*, *Emperours*, *Kings*, *Grand-Seigniors*, he hath been Contemporary unto, and the like: Would it not be thought that he hath a special good opinion of himself, (and indeed he hath reason) when he maketh such great Princes the Landmarks in the Chronology of himself? Surely, if he were to write by retale the particulars of his own Story and Life, it would be a notable *Romance*, since he telleth us in one total Sum, it is a continued Miracle of thirty years. Though he creepeth gently upon us at the first, yet he groweth a *Gyant*, an *Atlas* (to use his own expression) at the last. But I will not censure him, as he that made Notes upon *Balsac*'s Letters, and was angry with him for vexing his Readers with Stories of his *Cholicks*, and voiding of Gravel. I leave this kind of expressions, without looking further into them.

In the next place (my *Lord*) I shall

ſhall take occaſion from our Author's ſetting ſo main a difference between moral Honeſty and Vertue, or being vertuous (to uſe his own phraſe) out of an inbred loyalty to Vertue; and on the other ſide, being vertuous for a rewards ſake; to diſcourſe a little concerning *Vertue* in this life, and the effects of it afterwards. Truely (my *Lord*) however he ſeemeth to prefer this later, I cannot but value the other much before it, if we regard the nobleneſs and heroickneſs of the nature and mind from whence they both proceed: And if we conſider the Journeys end, to which each of them carrieth us, I am confident the firſt yieldeth nothing to the ſecond, but indeed both meet in the period of Beatitude. To clear this point (which is very well worth the wiſeſt man's ſerioueſt thought) we muſt conſider, what it is that bringeth us to this excellent State, to be happy in the other World of Eternity and Immutability. It is agreed on all hands to be God's Grace and Favour to us: But

all do not agree by what ſteps his Grace produceth this effect. Herein I ſhall not trouble your Lordſhip with a long Diſcourſe, how that Grace worketh in us, (which yet I will in a word touch anon, that you may conceive what I underſtand Grace to be) but will ſuppoſe it to have wrought its effect in us in this life, and from thence examine what hinges they are that turn us over to *Beatitude* and *Glory* in the next: Some conſider God as a Judge, that rewardeth or puniſheth men, according as they co-operated with, or repugned to, the Grace he gave. That according as their actions pleaſe or diſpleaſe him, he is well affected towards them, or angry with them; and accordingly maketh them, to the purpoſe, and very home, feel the effects of his kindneſs or indignation. Others that fly a higher pitch, and are ſo happy,

——— *Ut rerum poterint cognoſcere cauſas,*

do

do conceive that Beatitude and misery in the other life, are effects that neceſſarily and orderly flow out of the Nature of thoſe Cauſes that begot them in this life, without engaging God Almighty to give a ſentence, and act the part of a Judge, according to the ſtate of our Cauſe, as it ſhall appear upon the Accuſations and pleadings at his great *Bar*. Much of which manner of expreſſion, is Metaphorical; and rather adapted to contain vulgar minds in their Duties (that are awed with the thought of a ſevere Judge, ſifting every minute-action of theirs) than ſuch as we muſt conceive every circumſtance to paſs ſo in reality, as the literal ſound of the words ſeems to infer in ordinary conſtruction: and yet all that is true too, in its genuine ſence.) But, my *Lord*, theſe more penetrating men, and that, I conceive, are vertuous upon higher and ſtronger Motives (for they truely and ſolidly know, why they are ſo) do conſider, that what impreſ-

sions are once made in the spiritual Substance of a Soul, and what affections it hath once contracted, do ever remain in it, till a contrary and diametrically contradicting judgement and affection, do obliterate it, and expel it thence. This is the reason why *Contrition, Sorrow*, and *Hatred* for *Sins* past, is encharged us. If then the *Soul* do go out of the Body with impressions and affections to the Objects and pleasures of this life, it continually lingreth after them; and as *Virgil* (learnedly, as well as wittily) saith,

——*Quæ gratia currum,*
Armorumque fuit vivis, quæ cura nitentes
Pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos.

But that being a State wherein those Objects neither are, nor can be enjoyed, it must needs follow that such a Soul must be in an exceeding anguish, sorrow and affliction,

ction, for being deprived of them; and for want of that it ſo much prizeth, will neglect all other contentments it might have, as not having a reliſh or taſte moulded and prepared to the ſavouring of them; but like feavoriſh tongues, that when they are even ſcorched with heat, take no delight in the pleaſingeſt liquors, but the ſweeteſt drinks ſeem bitter to them, by reaſon of their overflowing Gall: So they even hate whatſoever good is in their power, and thus pine away a long Eternity. In which the ſharpneſs and activity of their pain, anguiſh, aud ſad condition, is to be meaſured by the ſenſibleneſs of their Natures: which being then ſpiritual, is in a manner infinitely more than any torment that in this life can be inflicted upon a dull groſs body. To this add, the vexation it muſt be to them, to ſee how ineſtimable and infinite a good they have loſt; and loſt meerly by their own fault, and for momentary trifles, and childrens play;

and that it was so easie for them to have gained it, had they remained but in their right senses, and governed themselves according unto *Reason*. And then judge in what a tortured condition they must be, of remorse and execrating themselves for their most resupine and senseless madness. But if on the other side, a Soul be released out of this *Prison* of clay and flesh, with affections setled upon Intellectual goods, as *Truth*, *Knowledge*, and the like; and that it be grown to an irksome dislike of the flat pleasures of this World; and look upon carnal and sensual Objects with a disdainful eye, as discerning the contemptible Inanity in them, that is set off only by their painted outside; and above all, that it hath a longing desire to be in the Society of that supereminent Cause of Causes, in which they know are heaped up the *Treasurers* of all *Beauty*, *Knowledge*, *Truth*, *Delight*, and good whatsoever; and there-

fore

fore are impatient at the *Delay*, and reckon all their Abſence from him as a tedious Baniſhment; and in that regard hate their Life and Body, as Cauſe of this Divorce: ſuch a Soul, I ſay, muſt neceſſarily, by reaſon of the temper it is wrought into, enjoy immediately at the inſtant of the Bodies diſſolution, and its liberty, more Contentment, more Joy, more true Happineſs, than it is poſſible for a heart of fleſh to have ſcarce any ſcantling of, much leſs to comprehend.

For immenſe Knowledge is natural to it, as I have touched before. *Truth*, which is the adequated and ſatisfying Object of the Underſtanding; is there diſplayed in her own Colours, or rather without any.

And that which is the *Crown* of all, and in reſpect of which all the reſt is nothing; that infinite Entity, which above all things this Soul thirſteth to be united unto, cannot for his own Goodneſs ſake, deny his Embraces to ſo affectionate a

Creature,

Creature, and to ſuch an enflamed Love. If he ſhould, then were that Soul, for being the beſt, and for loving him moſt, condemned to be the unhappieſt. For what Joy could ſhe have in any thing, were ſhe barred from what ſhe ſo infinitely loveth? But ſince the Nature of ſuperiour and excellent things is to ſhower down their propitious Influences, whereſoever there is a Capacity of receiving them, and no Obſtacle to keep them out (like the Sun that illuminateth the whole Air, if no Cloud, or ſolid opacous Body intervene) it followeth clearly, that this infinite Sun of Juſtice, this immenſe Ocean of Goodneſs, cannot chuſe but inviron with his Beams, and repleniſh even beyond ſatiety with his delightſome Waters, a ſoul ſo prepared and tempered to receive them.

No (my *Lord*) to make uſe of this Diſcourſe, and apply it to what begot it; be pleaſed to determine, which way will deliver us eveneſt and ſmootheſt to this happy end of

of our *Journey*: To be vertuous for hope of a Reward, and through fear of Puniſhment; or to be ſo out of a natural and inward affection to *Vertue*, for *Vertues* and *Reaſons* ſake? Surely one in this latter condition, not onely doth thoſe things which will bring him to *Beatitude*; but he is ſo ſecured, in a manner, under an Armour of *Proof*, that he is almoſt invulnerable; he can ſcarce miſcarry, he hath not ſo much as an inclination to work contrarily; the Alluring Baits of this *World* tempt him not; he diſliketh, he hateth, even his neceſſarry Commerce with them whilſt he liveth. On the other ſide, the Hireling that ſteereth his courſe by his Reward and Puniſhment, doth well, I confeſs; but he doth it with Reluctance; he carrieth the *Ark*, God's Image, his Soul, ſafely home, it is true, but he loweth pitifully after his Calves, that he leaveth behind him among the *Philiſtines*. In a word, he is *vertuous*; but if he might

ſafely

safely, he would do *vicious* things (And hence be the ground in Nature, if so I might say, of our *Purgatory*.) Methinks two such minds may not unfitly be compared to two Maids, whereof one hath a little sprinkling of the Green sickness, and hath more mind to *Ashes*, *Chalk* or *Leather*, than meats of solid and good nourishment, but forbeareth them, knowing the languishing condition of *Health* it will bring her to: But the other having a ruddy, vigorous and perfect Constitution, and enjoying a compleat, entire *Encrasie*, delights in no food but of good nouriture, and loaths the other Delights. *Her Health* is discovered in her looks, and she is secure from any danger of that Malady, whereas the other for all her good Diet, beareth in her Complexion some sickly Testimony of her depraved Appetite; and if she be not very *wary*, she is in danger of a relapse.

It falleth fit in this place to examine our Authors apprehension of the

the end of ſuch honeſt *Worthies* and *Philoſophers* (as he calleth them) that died before *Chriſt* his Incarnation, Whether any of them could be ſaved, or no? Truly, my *Lord*, I make no doubt at all, but if any followed in the whole *Tenor* of their lives, the Dictamens of right *Reaſon*, but that their journey was ſecure to *Heaven*. Out of the former Diſcourſe appeareth what temper of mind is neceſſary to get thither. *And*, that *Reaſon* would dictate ſuch a temper to a perfectly judicious man, (though but in the ſtate of *Nature*) as the beſt and moſt rational for him, I make no doubt at all. But it is moſt true, they are exceeding few (if any) in whom *Reaſon* worketh clearly, and is not overſwayed by *Paſſion* and terrene *Affections*; they are few that can diſcern what is reaſonable to be done in every Circumſtance.

——— *Pauci, quos æquus amavit*

Ju-

Jupiter, aut ardens evexit ad æthera virtus,
Diis geniti, potuere. ——

And fewer, that knowing what is beſt, can win of themſelves to do accordingly; (*Video meliora proboque deteriora ſequor*, being moſt mens caſes) ſo that after all that can be expected at the hands of Nature and Reaſon in their beſt Habit, ſince the lapſe of them, we may conclude it would have been a moſt difficult thing for any man, and a moſt impoſſible one for mankind, to attain unto *Beatitude*, if *Chriſt* had not come to teach, and by his example to ſhew us the way.

And this was the *Reaſon* of his Incarnation, teaching Life and Death: For being God, we could not doubt his Veracity, when he tolds us news of the other world; having all things in his Power, and yet enjoying none of the Delights of this Life, no man ſhould ſtick at foregoing them, ſince

ſince his Example ſheweth all men, that ſuch a courſe is beſt; whereas few are capable of the *Reaſon* of it: And for his laſt Act, dying in ſuch an afflicted manner; he taught us how the ſecureſt way to ſtep immediately into Perfect Happineſs, is to be crucified to all the deſires, Delights and Contentments of this *World.*

But to come back to our *Phyſician*: Truely (my *Lord*) I muſt needs pay him, as a due, the acknowledging his pious Diſcourſes to be Excellent and Pathetical ones, containing worthy Motives, to incite one to Vertue, and to deter one from Vice; thereby to gain *Heaven,* and to avoid *Hell.* Aſſuredly he is owner of a ſolid Head, and of a ſtrong generous Heart. Where he employeth his thoughts upon ſuch things, as reſort to no higher, or more abſtruſe *Principles*, than ſuch as occur in ordinary Converſation with the World, or in the common Tract of Study and Learning; I know no

no man would say better. But when he meeteth with such difficulties as his next, concerning the *Resurrection of the Body*, (wherein after deep Meditation, upon the most abstracted Principles and Speculations of the *Metaphysicks*, one hath much ado to solve the appearing Contradictions in *Nature) There*, I do not at all wonder, he should tread a little awry, and go astray in the dark: for I conceive his course of life hath not permitted him to allow much time unto the unwinding of such entangled and abstracted Subtleties. But if it had, I believe his Natural parts are such, as he might have kept the Chair from most men I know: For even where he roveth widest, it is with so much wit and sharpness, as putteth me in mind of a great mans Censure upon *Joseph Scaliger*'s *Cyclometrica*, (a matter he was not well versed in) That he had rather err so ingeniously as he did, than hit upon *Truth* in that heavy manner, as the *Jesuit* his

his *Antagoniſt* ſtuffeth his *Books*. Moſt aſſuredly his wit and ſmartneſs in this Diſcourſe, is of the fineſt *Standard*, and his inſight into ſeverer *Learning*, will appear as piercing unto ſuch as uſe not ſtrictly the *Touchſtone* and the *Teſt*, to examine every piece of the glittering Coyn, he payeth his Reader with. But to come to the *Reſurrection*. Methinks it is but a groſs Conception, to think that every *Atome* of the preſent individual Matter of a Body; every grain of *Aſhes* of a burned *Cadaver*, ſcattered by the Wind throughout the World, and after numerous Variations, changed peradventure into the Body of another man, ſhould at the ſounding of the laſt *Trumpet* be raked together again from all the corners of the Earth, and be made up anew into the ſame *Body* it was before of the firſt Man. Yet if we will be *Chriſtians*, and rely upon God's Promiſes, we muſt believe that we ſhall riſe again with the

ſame Body that walked about, did eat, drink, and live here on Earth; and that we ſhall ſee our *Saviour* and *Redeemer*, with the ſame, the very ſame eyes, wherewith we now look upon the fading *Glories* of this contemptible World.

How ſhall theſe ſeeming Contrarieties be reconciled? If the latter be true, why ſhould not the former be admitted? To explicate this Riddle the better, give me leave to ask your Lordſhip, if your Lordſhip, if you now ſee the *Cannons*, the *Enſigns*, the *Arms*, and other Martial Preparations at *Oxford*, with the ſame Eyes, wherewith many years agone you looked upon *Porphyrie*'s and *Ariſtotle*'s Leaſes there? I doubt not but you will anſwer me, Aſſuredly with the very ſame. Is that *Noble* and *Graceful Perſon* of yours, that begetteth both *Delight* and *Reverence* in every one that looketh upon it? Is that Body of yours, that now is grown to ſuch comely and full Dimenſions, as

Nature

Nature can give her none more advantagious; the ſame Perſon, the ſame Body, which your Vertuous and Excellent Mother bore nine Months in her Chaſt and Honoured Womb, and that your Nurſe gave ſuck unto? Moſt certainly it is the ſame. And yet if you conſider it well, it cannot be doubted, but that ſublunary Matter, being in a perpetual flux, and in bodies which have internal Principles of *Heat* and Motion, much continually tranſpiring out to make room for the ſupply of new Aliment; at the length, in long proceſs of time, all is ſo changed, as that *Ship* at *Athens* may as well be called the ſame Ship that was there two hundred years before, and whereof (by reaſon of the continual reparations) not one foot of the *Timber* is remaining in her that builded her at the firſt, as this *Body* now can be called the ſame it was forty years agone, unleſs ſome higher conſideration keep up the *Identity* of it. Now what that is, let us

examine, and whether or no it will reach to our difficulty of the *Resurrection*. Let us consider then, how that which giveth the Numerical Individuation to a *Body*, is the Substantial Form. As long as that remaineth the same, though the Matter be in a continual Flux and Motion, yet the Thing is still the same. There is not one drop of the same Water in the *Thames*, that ran down by *White-Hall* yesternight; yet no man will deny, but that is the same River that was in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, as long as it is supplied from the same Common Stock, the *Sea*. Though this Example reacheth not home, it illustrateth the thing. If then the Form remain absolutely the same after separation from the Matter, that it was in the Matter, (which can happen only to Forms, that subsist by themselves, as humane *Souls*) it followeth then, That whensoever it is united to Matter again, (all Matter coming out of the same Common Magazine) it maketh

maketh again the ſame Man, with the ſame Eyes, and all the ſame Limbs that were formerly. Nay, he is compoſed of the ſame Individual Matter; for it hath the ſame Diſtinguiſher and Individuator, to wit, the ſame Form or *Soul.* Matter conſidered ſingly by it ſelf, hath no Diſtinction: All Matter is in it ſelf the ſame; we muſt fancy it, as we do the indigeſted *Chaos*; it is a uniformly wide *Ocean.* Particularize a few drops of the *Sea*, by filling a Glaſs-full of them, then that Glaſs-full is diſtinguiſhed from all the reſt of the watery *Bulk*: But return back thoſe few drops to from whence they were taken, and the Glaſs-full that even now had an Individuation by it ſelf, loſeth that, and groweth one and the ſame with the other main Stock: Yet if you fill your Glaſs again, whereſoever you take it up, ſo it be of the ſame Uniform *Bulk* of Water you had before, it is the ſame Glaſs-full of Water that you had. But as I ſaid before, this Ex-

ample fitteth entirely, no more than the other did. In such abstracted speculations, where we must consider Matter without Form (which hath no actual Being) we must not expect adequated Examples in Nature. But enough is said to make a Speculative man see, that if *God* should joyn the *Soul* of a lately dead man, (even whilst his dead Corpse should lye entire in his winding-sheet here) unto a *Body* made of Earth, taken from some Mountain in *America*; it were most true and certain, that the Body he should then lye by, were the same Identical Body he lived with before his *Death*, and late *Resurrection*. It is evident, that *Sameness*, *Thisness*, and *Thatness*, belongeth not to Matter by it self, (for a general Indifference runneth through it all) but onely as it is distinguished and individuated by the Form. Which, in our Case, whensoever the same *Soul* doth, it must be understood always to be the same Matter and Body.

This

This Point thus paſſed over, I may piece to it what our *Author* ſaith, of a *Magazine* of Subſiſtent Forms, reſiding firſt in the *Chaos*, and hereafter (when the World ſhall have been deſtroyed by fire) in the general heap of *Aſhes*: out of which God's Voice did, and ſhall draw them out, and clothe them with Matter. This Language were handſome for a *Poet*, or *Rhetorician* to ſpeak; but in a *Philoſopher*, that ſhould ratiocinate ſtrictly and rigorouſly, I cannot admit it. For certainly, there are no Subſiſtent Forms of *Corporeal* things; (excepting the *Soul* of man, which beſides being an Informing Form, hath another particular Conſideration belonging to it, too long to ſpeak of here.) But whenſoever that Compound is deſtroyed, the Form periſheth with the whole. And for the Natural Production of *Corporeal* things, I conceive it to be wrought out by the Action and Paſſion of the *Elements* among themſelves; which

introducing new Tempers and Dispositions, into the Bodies where these Conflicts pass; new Forms succeed old ones, when the Dispositions are raised to such a height, as can no longer consist with the preceding Form, and are in the immediate Degree to fit the succeeding one, which they usher in. The Mystery of all, which I have at large unfolded in my above-mentioned Treatise of the *Immortality of the Soul.*

I shall say no more to the first Part of our *Physician*'s Discourse after I have observed, how his Consequence is no good one; where he inferreth, That if the *Devils* fore-knew, who would be Damned or Saved, it would save them the *Labour*, and end their work of tempting Mankind to mischief and evil. For whatsoever their Moral Design and Success be in it, their Nature impelleth them to be always doing it. For on the one side, it is Active in the highest Degree, (as being pure *Acts*, that is, *Spirits*,

Spirits,) ſo on the other ſide, they are Malign in as great an Exceſs: By the one they muſt be always working, whereſoever they may work, (like Water in a Veſſel full of holes, that will run out of every one of them which is not ſtopped:) By the other, their whole Work muſt be malicious and miſchievous. Joyning then both theſe Qualities together, it is evident, they will always be tempting mankind, though they know they ſhall be fruſtrate of their Moral End.

But were it not time that I made an end? Yes, it is more than time. And therefore having once paſſed the limit that confined what was becoming, the next ſtep carried me into the *Ocean* of *Errour*; which being Infinite, and therefore more or leſs bearing no proportion in it; I will proceed a little further, to take a ſhort Survey of his *Second Part*, and hope for as eaſie *Pardon* after this Addition; to my ſudden and indigeſted Remarks,

marks, as if I had encloſed them up now.

Methinks, he beginneth with ſomewhat an affected Diſcourſe, to prove his natural Inclination to *Charity*: which *Vertue* is the intended *Theam* of all the Remainder of his Diſcourſe. And I doubt he miſtaketh the loweſt *Orbe* or *Lembe* of that high *Seraphick Vertue*, for the top and perfection of it; and maketh a kind of humane Compaſſion to be *Divine Charity*. He will have it to be a general way of doing good: It is true, he addeth then, *for God's ſake*; but he allayeth that again, with ſaying, he will have that good done, as by Obedience, and to accompliſh God's will; and looketh at the Effects it worketh upon our Souls, but in a narrow compaſs; like one in the vulgar throng, that conſidereth God as a Judge, and as a Rewarder or a Puniſher. *Whereas* perfect *Charity*, is that vehement Love of God for his own ſake, for his Goodneſs, for his Beauty, for his

his Excellency, that carrieth all the motions of our Soul directly and violently to Him; and maketh a man disdain, or rather hate all obstacles that may retard his journey to Him. And that Face of it that looketh toward Mankind with whom we live, and warmeth us to do others good, is but like the overflowing of the main Stream, that swelling above its Banks runneth over in a multitude of little channels.

I am not satisfied, that in the Likeness which he putteth between *God* and *Man*, he maketh the difference between them, to be but such as between two Creatures that resemble one another. For between these, there is some proportion; but between the others, none at all. In the examining of which Discourse, wherein the *Author* observeth, that no two Faces are ever seen to be perfectly alike; nay, no two *Pictures* of the same Face, were exactly made so; I could take occasion to insert a subtil

ſubtil and delightful Demonſtration of Mr. *Whites*, wherein he ſheweth, how it is impoſſible that two Bodies (for example two *Bouls*) ſhould ever be made exactly like one another; nay, not rigorouſly equal in any one Accident, as namely in weight, but that ſtill there will be ſome little difference and inequality between them (the *Reaſon* of which Obſervation, our *Author* medled not with) were it not that I have been ſo long already, as Digreſſions were now very unſeaſonable.

Shall I commend or cenſure our *Author* for believing ſo well of his acquired knowledge, as to be dejected at the thought of not being able to leave it a Legacy among his Friends; Or ſhall I examine, whether it be not a high injury to wiſe and gallant *Princes*, who out of the generouſneſs and nobleneſs of their *Nature*, do patronize Arts and learned Men, to impute their ſo doing to vanity of deſiring

desiring Praise, or to fear of Reproach?

But let these pass: I will not engage any that may be-friend him, in a quarrel against him. But I may safely produce *Epictetus* to contradict him, when he letteth his kindness engulf him in deep afflictions for a friend: For he will not allow his wise man to have an inward relenting, a troubled feeling, or compassion of anothers misfortunes. That disordereth the one, without any good to the other. Let him afford all the assistances and relievings in his power, but without intermingling himself in others *Woe*; As *Angels*, that do us good, but have no passion for us. But this Gentleman's kindness goeth yet further: he compareth his love of a *Friend* to his love of *God*: the Union of Friends Souls by affection, to the Union of the three Persons in the *Trinity*, and to the *Hypostatical Union* of two Natures in one *Christ*, by the Words *Incarnation*. Most certainly

tainly he expresseth himself to be a right good-natur'd man. But if St. *Augustine* retracted so severely his pathetical Expressions for the Death of his Friend, saying, *They savoured more of the Rhetorical Declamations of a young Orator, than of the grave Confession of a devout Christian*, (or somewhat to that purpose) What censure upon himself may we expect of our *Physician*, if ever he make any Retraction of this Discourse concerning his *Religion?*

It is no small misfortune to him, that after so much time spent, and so many places visited in a curious Search, by travelling after the Acquisition of so many Languages; after the wading so deep in Sciences, as appeareth by the ample Inventory, and Particular he maketh of himself: The result of all this should be, to profess ingenuously he had studied enough, onely to become a *Sceptick*; and that having run through all sorts of *Learning*, he could find rest

and

and ſatisfaction in none. This, I confeſs, is the unlucky fate of thoſe that light upon wrong *Principles.* But Mr. *White* teacheth us, how the *Theorems* and *Demonſtrations* of *Phyſicks* may be linked and chained together, as ſtrongly, and as continuedly as they are in the *Mathematicks*, if men would but apply themſelves to a right Method of Study. And I do not find that *Solomon* complained of Ignorance in the height of Knowledge; (as this *Gentleman* ſaith) but onely, that after he hath rather acknowledged himſelf ignorant of nothing, but that he underſtood the Natures of all Plants, from the *Cedar* to the *Hyſſop*, and was acquainted with all the ways and paths of Wiſdom and Knowledge; he exclaimeth, that all this is but *Toyl and vexation of ſpirit*; and therefore adviſeth men, to change Humane Studies into Divine Contemplations and Affections.

I cannot agree to his reſolution of ſhutting his *Books*, and giving over the ſearch of Knowledge, and reſigning himſelf up to Ignorance, upon the reaſon that moveth him; as though it were extream *Vanity* to waſte our days in the purſuit of that, which by attending but a little longer (till Death hath cloſed the eyes of our *Body*, to open thoſe of our *Soul*) we ſhall gain with eaſe, we ſhall enjoy by infuſion, and is an acceſſory of our Glorification. It is true, as ſoon as *Death* hath played the Midwife to our ſecond Birth, our Soul ſhall then ſee all Truths more freely, than our Corporal Eyes at our firſt Birth ſee all Bodies and Colours, by the natural power of it, as I have touched already, and not onely upon the grounds our *Author* giveth. Yet far be it from us, to think that time loſt, which in the mean ſeaſon we ſhall laboriouſly imploy, to warm our ſelves with blowing a few little *Sparks* of that glorious fire, which we ſhall afterwards

wards in one instant leap into the middle of, without danger of Scorching. And that for two important *Reasons*; besides several others, too long to mention here) the one, for the great advantage we have by Learning in this life; the other, for the huge Contentment that the Acquisition of it here (which applyeth a strong Affection to it) will be unto us in the next life. The want of Knowledge in our first Mother (which exposed her to be easily deceived by the *Sepents* cunning) was the root of all our ensuing *Misery* and *Woe*. It is as true (which we are taught by irrefragable Authority) That *Omnis peccans ignorat*: And the well head of all the calamities and mischiefs in all the World, consisteth of the troubled and bitter waters of Ignorance, Folly and Rashness; to cure which, the onely Remedy and Antidote, is the Salt of true *Learning*, the bitter *Wood* of *Study*, painful *Meditation*, and orderly *Consideration*.

ration. I do not mean such *Study*, as armeth wrangling *Champions* for clamorous *Schools*, where the Ability of subtil Disputing to and fro, is more prized than the retriving of Truth: But such as filleth the mind with solid and useful notions, and doth not endanger the swelling it up with windy vanities. Besides, the sweetest Companion and entertainment of a well-tempered mind, is to converse familiarly with the naked and bewitching beauties of those Mistresses, those Verities and Sciences, which by fair courting of them, they gain and enjoy; and every day bring new fresh ones to their *Seraglio*, where the ancientest never grow old or stale. Is there any thing so pleasing, or so profitable as this?

——— *Nil dulcius est, bene quam munita tenere*
Edita doctrina sapientum templa serena;

Despicere

Despicere unde queas alios, passimque videre
Errare, atque viam palantes quærere vitæ.

But now if we consider the advantage we shall have in the other life by our affection to *Sciences*, and conversation with them in this, it is wonderful great. Indeed that affection is so necessary, as without it we shall enjoy little contentment in all the knowledge we shall then be repleniſhed with: for every ones pleasure in the possession of a good, is to be measured by his precedent *Desire* of that good, and by the equality of the taste and relish of him that feedeth upon it. We should therefore prepare and make our taste before-hand by Assuefaction unto, and by often relishing what we shall then be nourished with. That *Englishman* that can drink nothing but *Beer* or *Ale*, would be ill bestead, were he to go into *Spain* or *Italy*, where nothing but *Wine*

groweth: whereas a well-experienced *Goinfre*, that can criticize upon the several tastes of Liquors, would think his *Palate* in *Paradise*, among those delicious *Nectars* (to use *Aretines* phrase upon his eating of a *Lamprey*.) Who was ever delighted with *Tobacco* the first time he took it? And who could willingly be without it, after he was a while habituated to the use of it; How many examples are there daily of young men, that marrying upon their Fathers command, not through precedent affections of their own, have little comfort in worthy and handsome Wives, that others would passionately affect? *Archimedes* lost his life, for being so ravished with the delight of a Mathematical Demonstration, that he could not of a sudden recal his extasied *Spirits* to attend the rude Souldiers Summons: But instead of him, whose mind hath been always fed with such subtil *Diet*, how many plain *Country-Gentlemen* doth your Lordship and I know, that

rate

rate the knowledge of their Husbandry at a much higher pitch; and are extreamly delighted by converſing with that; whereas the other would be moſt tedious and importune to them? We may then ſafely conclude, That if we will joy in the *Knowledge* we ſhall have after *Death*, we muſt in our life-time raiſe within our ſelves earneſt affections to it, and deſires of it, which cannot be barren ones; but will preſs upon us to gain ſome Knowledge by way of advance here; and the more we attain unto, the more we ſhall be in *Love* with what remaineth behind. To this reaſon then adding the other, How knowledge is the ſureſt prop, and guide of our preſent life; and how it perfecteth a man in that which conſtituteth a man, his *Reaſon*; and how it enableth him to tread boldly, ſteadily, conſtantly, and knowingly in all his ways: And I am confident, all men that ſhall hear the Caſe thus debated, will joyn with me in making it

a Suit to our *Physitian*, that he will keep his *Books* open, and continue that *Progress* he hath so happily begun.

But I believe your Lordship will scarcely joyn with him in his wish, that we might procreate and beget Children without the help of Women, or without any Conjunction or Commerce with that sweet and bewitching *Sex*. *Plato* taxeth his fellow *Philosopher* (though otherwise a learned and brave man) for not sacrificing to the *Graces*, those gentle Female *Goddesses*. What thinketh your Lordship of our *Physitian*'s bitter censure of that action, which *Mahomet* maketh the Essence of his *Paradise*? Indeed, besides those his unkindnesses, or rather frowardnesses, at that tender-hearted *Sex* (which must needs take it ill at his hands) methinketh he setteth Marriage at too low a rate, which is assuredly the highest and divinest link of humane Society. And where he speaketh of *Cupid*, and of *Beauty*, it is in such

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a phraſe, as putteth me in mind of the Learned *Greek Reader* in *Cambridge*, his courting of his *Miſtreſs* out of *Stephens* his *Theſaurus*.

My next Obſervation upon his Diſcourſe, draweth me to a *Logical* conſideration of the Nature of an exact *Syllogiſm*: which kind of reflection, though it uſe to open the door in the courſe of Learning and Study; yet it will near ſhut it in my Diſcourſe, which my following the thred that my *Author* ſpinneth, aſſigneth to this place. If he had well and throughly conſidered all that is required to that ſtrict way of managing our *Reaſon*, he would not have cenſured *Ariſtotle* for condemning the fourth Figure, out of no other motive, but becauſe it was not conſonant to his own Principle; that it would not fit with the Foundations himſelf had laid; though it do with Reaſon (ſaith he) and be conſonant to that, which indeed it doth not, at all times, and in all Cir-

cumstances. In a perfect *Syllogism*, the Predicate must be identified with the Subject, and each extream with the middle term, and so consequently, all three with one another. But in *Galen*'s fourth Figure, the case may so fall out, as these Rules will not be current there.

As for the good and excellency that he considereth in the worst things, and how far from Solitude any map is in a Wilderness; *These* are (in his Discourse) but *equivocal considerations of Good*, and of *Lowliness*: Nor are they any ways pertinent to the Morality of that part, where he treateth of them.

I have much ado to believe, what he speaketh confidently, That he is more beholding to *Morpheus*, for Learned and Rational, as well as pleasing *Dreams*, than to *Mercury* for smart and facetious Conceptions; whom *Saturn* (it seemeth by his relation) hath looked asquint upon in his Geniture.

In

In his concluding *Prayer*, wherein he ſummeth up all he wiſheth: methinketh his Arrow is not winged with that fire, which I ſhould have expected from him upon this occaſion: For it is not the peace of *Conſcience*, nor the bridling up of ones affections, that expreſſeth the higheſt delightfulneſs and happieſt ſtate of a perfect *Chriſtian*. It is love onely that can give us *Heaven* upon Earth, as well as in Heaven; and bringeth us thither too: So that the *Thuſcan Virgil* had reaſon to ſay,

—— *In alte dolcezze*
Non ſi puo gioio, ſe non amando.

And this Love muſt be imployed upon the nobleſt and higheſt Object, not terminated in our Friends. But of this tranſcendent and divine part of *Charity*, that looketh directly and immediately upon God himſelf; and that is the Intrinſecal Form, the utmoſt Perfection, the ſcope and final Perio.l

riod of true *Religion*, (this Gentleman's intended *Theam*, as I conceive) I have no occasion to speak any thing, since my *Author* doth but transiently mention it; and that too, in such a phrase as ordinary *Catechisms* speak of to vulgar Capacities.

Thus, my Lord, having run through the Book (God knows how sleightly, upon so great a sudden) which your Lordship commanded me to give you an account of, there remaineth yet a weightier task upon me to perform, which is, to excuse my self of Presumption, for daring to consider any Moles in that Face, which you had marked for a Beauty. But who shall well consider my manner of proceeding in these Remarks, will free me from that Censure. I offer not at *Judging* the Prudence and Wisdom of this Discourse: These are fit Inquiries for your Lordships Court of highest Appeal: In my inferiour one, I meddle onely with little knotty

knotty pieces of particular Sciences (*Matinæ apis inſtar, operoſa parvus carmina fingit.*) In which it were peradventure a fault for your Lordſhip to be too well verſed; your Imployments are of a higher and nobler *Strain*, and that concerns the welfare of millions of men;

Tu regere Imperio Populos (*Sackville*) *memento*
(Hæ tibi erunt Artes) paciſque imponere morem.

Such little Studies as theſe, belong onely to thoſe Perſons that are low in the Rank they hold in the Common-wealth; low in their Conceptions, and low in a languiſhing and ruſting Leiſure, ſuch an one as *Virgil* calleth *Ignobile otium*, and ſuch an one as I am now dulled withal. If *Alexander* or *Cæſar* ſhould have commended a tract of Land, as fit to fight a Battel in for the Empire of the World, or to build a City upon, to be the *Magazine* and Staple of all the adjacent

cent Countries; no body could juſtly condemn that Husbandman, who according to his own narrow Art and Rules, ſhould cenſure the Plains of *Arbela*, or *Pharſalia*, for being in ſome places ſterile; or the Meadows about *Alexandria*, for being ſometimes ſubject to be overflown; or could tax ought he ſhould ſay in that kind for a contradiction unto the others commendations of thoſe places, which are built upon higher and larger Principles.

So (my Lord) I am confident I ſhall not be reproached of unmannerlineſs for putting in a Demurrer unto a few little particularities in that noble Diſcourſe, which your Lordſhip gave a general Applauſe unto; and by doing ſo, I have given your Lordſhip the beſt Account I can of my ſelf, as well as of your Commands. You hereby ſee what my entertainments are, and how I play away my time.

Dorſet

——*Dorſet dum magnus ad altum*
Fulminat Oxonium bello, victorq; volentes
Per populos dat jura; viamq; affectat Olympo.

May your Counſels there be happy and ſucceſsful ones, to bring about that *Peace*, which if we be not quickly bleſſed withal, a general ruine threatneth the whole *Kingdom*. From *Wincheſter*-Houſe the 22 (I think I may ſay the 23, for I am ſure it is Morning, and I think it is Day) of *December*, 1642.

Your Lordſhips muſt humble

and obedient Servant,

Kenelm Digby.

The

The Postscript.

My Lord,

LOoking over these loose Papers to point them, I perceive I have forgotten what I promised in the eighth sheet, to touch in a word concerning Grace: *I do not conceive it to be a Quality infused by* God Almighty *into a Soul.*

Such kind of discoursing satisfieth me no more in Divinity, *than in* Philosophy. *I take it to be the whole Complex of such real motives (as a solid account may be given of them) that incline a man to Virtue and Piety; and are set on foot by God's particular* Grace *and* Favour, *to bring that work to pass. As for Example: To a man plunged in*

in Sensuality, *some great misfortune happeneth, that mouldeth his heart to a tenderness, and inclineth him to much thoughtfulness: In this temper, he meeteth with a* Book *or* Preacher, *that representeth lively to him the danger of his own condition; and giveth him hopes of greater contentment in other Objects, after he shall have taken leave of his former beloved* Sins. *This begetteth further conversation with prudent and pious men, and experienced* Physitians, *in curing the* Souls Maladies; *whereby he is at last perfectly converted, and setled in a course of solid* Vertue *and* Piety.

Now these accidents of his misfortune, the gentleness and softness of his Nature, his falling upon a good Book, *his encountring with a pathetick* Preacher, *the impremeditated Chance that brought him to hear his* Sermon, *his meeting with other worthy men, and the whole Concatenation of all the intervening Accidents, to work this good effect in him; and that were ranged and disposed from all Eternity, by* Gods *particular goodness and providence for his* Sal-

Salvation; *and without which he had inevitably been damned: This chain of Causes, ordered by* God *to produce this effect, I understand to be* Grace.

FINIS.